Continuity and discontinuity in the Inuit culture of Greenland

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Published in:
EPRINTS-BOOK-TITLE

Publication date:
1977

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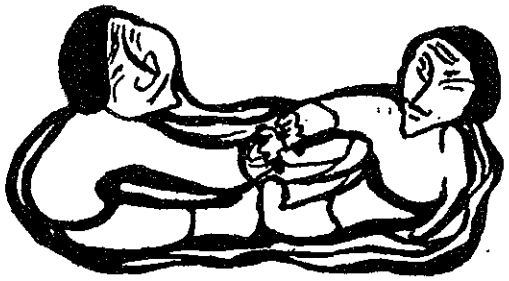
November

1976



ARCTIC CENTRE

University of Groningen Netherlands

Danish-Netherlands Symposium on Developments in Greenlandic Arctic Culture

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Preface

In november 1976 the Arctic Centre of the University of Groningen organized its third symposium. The first, a Dutch-Norwegian symposium on various aspects of the world of the Saames (Lapps), took place in 1971, the second, a 'Netherlands-Swedish Symposium on Developments in Scandinavian Arctic Culture', in 1974. The lectures held were published in 1973 and 1975, respectively. On both occasions an exhibition was held, which attracted considerable attention.

The third symposium was a Dutch-Danish one on the Greenlandic Inuit: 'Continuity and Discontinuity in Greenlandic Arctic Culture'. As on the two previous occasions, an exhibition was organized, for which we are indebted to several persons and authorities. Mrs. Kaalund and Gert Nooter, apart from giving lectures, arranged the exhibition, in which they were assisted, among others, by Mr. Christensen, ex-Governor of Greenland, and Mrs. Christensen, who kindly put at our disposal various objects of art from their private collection. Further material was supplied by the 'Rijksmuseum voor Volkenkunde' in Leiden, the 'Museum voor Onderwijs' in The Hague, Mrs. Kaalund, and several Greenlandic artists.

Thanks to the Danish 'Nationalmuseet', 'Det Grønlandske Selskab', and 'Statens Filmcentral' we could show documentary films; the cost of transport was defrayed by the Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which, together with the 'Ministry of Greenland' provided us with posters and informative material.

The lectures held by Bodil Kaalund, Jørgen Meldgaard, Robert Petersen, André van Holk, and Gert Nooter are presented in this booklet; we hope that it will receive the same interest as was shown towards the symposium.

Prof. Dr. A.D. Kylstra
Chairman of the Arctic Centre

CONTINUITY AND DISCONTINUITY IN THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN GREENLAND

by

Prof.Dr. Robert Petersen

June 1953

Juridically Greenland was until 1953 a Danish colony, but in the course of the Danish constitutional revision of 1953 Greenland formally became an integral part of the Kingdom of Denmark. This took place as a result of a referendum taken in Denmark, but not in Greenland. Since then Greenland has often been referred to as an equal part of the Danish kingdom. The day of the new constitution was celebrated in Greenland with many speeches expressing satisfaction with the new era in which Greenland was no longer to be a colony, but was to co-exist with Denmark in equality. The various Greenlandic politicians expressed enthusiasm for the new arrangement so consistently that today one is tempted to ask if they understood the extent to which the colonial regime remained unchanged. Nobody asked why the referendum was not taken in Greenland when the issue was the political status of the Greenlandic people, and not the political status of the Danish people.

The representative of the Governor of Greenland delivered a much calmer speech, putting forward the view that Greenland always had the rights that were now formalized in the new constitution, so that no new relationship was created, only the possibility of having two Greenlandic representatives in the Folketing (Danish Parliament).

The Formal Colonial Status of Greenland

Before this time Greenland was formally a colony. The administration of Greenland was concerned very much with the protection of the population against possible economic exploitation from the outside. Not only the whole economic life was run by the state, but also the schools, the health service, the churches, and the regional administration, even if a limited responsibility was given to the municipal boards, which were locally elected councils, and to the

Greenlandic Provincial Council (Grønlands landsråd) elected by the whole population. Like the municipal boards the Provincial Council has some well-defined tasks in connection with social service, hunting regulations, and some aspects of cultural life in Greenland, besides being an advisory committee for the Danish Folketing for legislation concerning Greenland. This limited participation in the control of daily life in Greenland came about around 1862, when local representatives formed councils to promote better exploitation of hunting grounds. These first councils were replaced about 1920 by local municipal boards and two regional 'Provincial Councils', with overlapping responsibilities. In connection with the later reform of the Greenlandic administration in 1950 the two Provincial Councils were combined into one.

The Policiy of the Greenlandic Commissions

During the Second World War Greenland was separated from Denmark from 1940 through 1945. After 1945 the pre-war arrangements were felt to be out of date, and commissions were installed to examine the possibility of modernizing Greenland and to prepare future policy in conformity with new ideas. The political and technical development of Greenland in the fifties was a result of the work of these commissions.

As had been pointed out by the representative of the Governor of Greenland, no change in daily life was visible. Copenhagen remained the administrative centre, even though now there was a special Ministry of Greenland. The Governor of Greenland continued as the supreme administrative authority in Greenland, and functioned even as ex-officio chairman of the Provincial Council. The same civil servants who formally worked in the administrative bodies of the colony of Greenland now worked in the Ministry of Greenland.

The fifties were characterized by a series of technical renewals. A royal visit to Greenland initiated a campaign for treatment of tuberculosis by means of recreational sojourns in Denmark, and by regular treatment in a sanatorium in Greenland itself. In addition the health service wás reorganized, and a housing programme was begun in order to replace old and crowded huts by new wooden houses. Tuberculosis, which caused the highest death rate in Greenland, was in the course of some twenty years nearly wiped out.

Furthermore, the Greenlandic economy was developed by investment in the fishing industry. A new fleet of cutters made fishing more effective than before, when rowing boats and small motorboats were predominant among Greenlandic vessels. New fishing methods and new equipment such as purse seine, pound nets, and trawls were introduced, and fish-refining factories were established in several towns. But the main investor was still the state, and even if some small privately owned factories were built in some settlements, they remained in Danish hands. The technical and industrial development was planned in the so-called 'open water area', stretching around four towns in West Greenland from Frederikshåb (Paamiut) to Holsteinsborg (Sisimiut). Several efforts were made to persuade people to move into these four towns, even if some civil servants today do try to deny it. This development was a sort of answer to wants expressed in vague terms by some of the leading Greenlandic politicians. But the plans for the modernization were made and structured in Copenhagen. The expenses were covered by the Danes and even the necessary construction was carried out by the Danes or under Danish leadership. The Greenlandic role was mainly limited to the acceptance of the ready-made plans as already structured, possibly with small corrections of details, and to the use of the finished constructions, very likely also under Danish leadership. To make this work more effective a new section of the Ministry of Greenland, namely the Greenlandic Technical Organization (normally abbreviated as GTO), was established with strongly centralized leadership as an agency to supervise and carry out all technical activities in Greenland from its main offices in Copenhagen. It is perhaps still a more powerful and important body than other sections of the Ministry of Greenland, because its calculations and technical dispositions really could not be controlled in Greenland, and also because it had the authority to tell the local politicians that they must take the responsibility for the significant changes whenever they wished to bring about new plans, and accordingly they were made responsible for eventual delays or higher costs. It proved a very effective means of political pressure. In a few cases the local people alone were able to convince these Danish technicians that a local solution of a given problem was better. In Sukkertoppen for instance a planned dam was replaced by a bridge, as proposed by the local fishermen, because a dam would change the water flow and make ice conditions more severe. I have heard this story told many times as

an example of how the GTO was very willing to listen to the local people.

Efforts were also made to improve housing conditions. Many house blocks were built in the towns and the Danish standard in house building was accepted as a new goal, as water closets, sewer systems, central heating, and electric installations were becoming standard equipment to make the houses more comfortable.

Formulated Political Aims

Although technical modernization could be regarded as a sort of amenity for the Danes who came to Greenland to offer service work in the Greenlandic community, its main reason may have been that the legal term 'integral part of the kingdom' often was interpreted as 'equal part', even if nobody tried to define the concept of 'equality'. Roughly, from the fifties on, this term was interpreted to mean that the technical frame of the Greenlandic community should be brought to the same level as that of Denmark, and that the Danish standard should be copied as far as possible. The school system too was reorganized as a copy of the Danish one. Many of the Greenlandic politicians swallowed this school reform as a measure to make it possible for Greenlandic students to continue their education in Denmark with a minimum of difficulty. The use of the Danish language was strengthened in the Greenlandic schools, while the position of the Greenlandic language was lowered in a corresponding degree. Greenlandic politicians, many of them at least, maintained that such steps were necessary. In the same period a considerable number of Danish teachers who could not speak the Greenlandic Inuit language were admitted, and the condition of employment for Greenlandic speaking teachers were not improved to the same degree as for the non-Greenlandic speaking. 'It would be quite unreasonable to give the Greenlandic teachers the same advantages', said one of the civil servants of the Ministry of Greenland in a discussion in the beginning of the sixties. The number of Greenlandic speaking teachers decreased, while the number of non-Greenlandic speaking teachers increased to about 80% of the total in the beginning of the seventies. Today this percentage has been brought down to about 67%. Today the school authorities maintain that this ratio 2:1 is simply due to lack of Greenlandic speaking

teachers. This assertion is only partly true; the situation was created intentionally in the times of the policy of 'equality'.

The already mentioned technical innovations also were itroduced in order to bring the production level up to Danish norms. Many different policies were tried: one from the fifties was to stimulate production by larger consumption. The idea was well known from outside Greenland, but in Greenland the Royal Greenlandic Trade Deparment (Den Kongelige Grønlandske Handel, normally abbreviated to KGH) tried to achieve their goal, nota bene, by stimulating the consumption of imported goods, as though that could have a direct effect upon the fish production.

The fish production increased nevertheless, even if not to the same degree as consumption. Various investments and good conditions for fishing gave increasing results till about 1964, when the slow increase of the sea temperature stopped and the waters grew colder, about ½ degree centigrade. The main fish product, cod, was afflicted by serious reversals. At the same time the overdepletion of fish stocks on the banks outside West Greenland was nearing a critical point, because the regeneration speed in cold waters is always lower than in warmer waters. Large vessels from a series of European countries vacuumed the banks with their very effective equipment. It is a situation that will occur again as long as investments in the means of the production are not decided by considerations of the preservation of the natural fish stocks. The negative economic effects of the decline in cod fishing were mitigated by new fishing possibilities, as salmon foraged in Davis Strait in the summer time, but American anglers soon protested against the taking of **their** salmon, and after negotiation European salmon fishing in Davis Strait was stopped while quota limitations were introduced in Greenland. At the same time large shrimp fields were discovered on the westcoast of Greenland, and this made it possible to avoid an economic catastrophe for the Greenlandic fishermen. However, European fishing vessels also discovered these fields and vacuumed these fields with the result that the average size of the shrimps caught is going down and the situation is serious. It is hard to understand why homo sapiens so often completely lays waste the fertile resources of nature which he will need again to sustain him in the future. One of the main political wishes in Greenland is therefore a 200 miles off-shore economic zone and prohibition of trawling in the breeding grounds of the cod-fish.

In the fifties it was a declared Danish policy in Greenland to base the Greenlandic economy upon modern fishery and to make fishing and fish processing the main occupation in Greenland. In the construction work to modernize the Greenlandic community they tried to avoid using and training Greenlandic Inuit for the building trades and they imported Danish workers. This was intended to avoid disruption of fishing and to prevent distraction of the Greenlandic Inuit from their traditional occupations, but was also based on the idea that the construction work to bring modern plants would last only a few years, and afterwards, it was thought, there would be minimal need for construction work. It was a well intentioned policy, but astonishingly naive. Almost all the work of construction and modernization was concentrated in the central part of West Greenland where the fishing industry was advanced, while large changes were avoided in the hunting areas. In the planned fishing area the population was encouraged to move into four towns where the main investments were placed. However, the fishing season is subject to fluctuations, and in the summer time a seasonal work migration from the remote areas into the factory towns occurs to help in the processing of cod, ocean catfish, salmon, and shrimps. The production itself was turned from mainly salted fish into frozen products.

In the beginning of the fifties some Greenlandic politicians proposed a serious debate on the objectives of the Greenlandic policy. As a result a committee, called the Greenlandic Committee of 1960 (normally abbreviated to G-60), formulated political goals in such a way as to conform the policy of the fifties as a 'normalization' of the Greenlandic conditions. This means still more effort to achieve correspondance with the Danish conditions. G-60 published its programme in 1964, calling for an equality between Denmark and Greenland, 'neither less nor more'. The G-60 report advocates continued copying of Danish institutions in Greenland, in education and in economic structure, continued concentration of the population, etc. But at the same time the disadvantages of this policy as carried out were coming to be recognized, and new ideas were developping, so the G-60 report is in fact a documentation of left-over political ideas. Some of its proposals, however, resulted in reconstruction of political and administrative institutions. It proposed an elected chairman of the Provincial Council and the establishment of a body called the Greenlandic Council that should render advise to the Minister of Greenland in the planning of a

future policy in Greenland.

The Situation after the G-60

As a result of these proposals a new educational act was prepared and was ratified in 1964. It continued imitation of the Danish educational system, even though it was becoming evident that the same ideas in the fifties did not lead to the expected results. The educational level in Greenland was still below that in Denmark. Moreover, Greenlandic participation in post-secondary education yielded only rather disappointing results, while the very reason for the copying of the Danish system was hopefully to make post-secondary education as easy as possible. Not only the language, but also cultural barriers prevented Greenlanders from obtaining maximal benefits from the new education. Communication between the teachers and the children and between the teachers and the parents was rather poor. Moreover, the development of some children in their own language was rather low, as the schools were not able to provide the children instruction in the Greenlandic Inuit language beyond the most elementary levels,so that the personal development of the children was very retarded. Nevertheless, many Greenlandic politicians, among whom many were teachers themselves, supported the policy of strengthening Danish in the schools at the cost of Greenlandic language. This went on until the middle sixties. In 1964 a new education act was passed. Under it the use of Danish was assured in the schools, but not the use of the Greenlandic language in the same degree. In this case the Danish Folketing nevertheless acted against the formulation of the Provincial Council of Greenland, and gave the Greenlandic language a stronger position than proposed by the Provincial Council. It was one of the very few cases when the Folketing did not follow the Greenlandic formulations to the letter.

In 1965 a mining act for Greenland was enacted which had been prefered by a commission without Greenlandic members. Under this act the mineral resources in Greenland belonged to the state, and the Minister for Greenland could issue permits for exploration and exploitation and was empowered to enforce the observance of stipulated conditions.

In this connection it may be worth mentioning that there is no legislation concerning the ownership of the ground-surface in Greenland. There has never been private ownership of land in Greenland, and the principle of collective ownership of land and sub-surface has been formulated in jurisprudence in recent years as a basic principle. Accordingly the population of Greenland as a whole should be the collective owner. The principle of collective ownership, however, and the principles of the aboriginal rights are unknown in Danish political and judicial life. The Danish politicians, and even the Danish government, maintain mutual statehood as the basic ownership principle. There is not much mutuality however in majority dominance, so in Greenlandic eyes the Danish principle is based on a colonial situation and must accordingly be unconstitutional. This formulation, however, belongs to the seventies.

Finally in the sixties some of the Greenlandic politicians began to criticize the very powerful position of various Ministry sections, the KGH and the GTO, which, with centralized decision making, had separated the control of altogether too many matters from the political interest of the Greenlanders.

In 1967 the Provincial Council had its first elected chairman, Mr. Erling Hoegh from Julianehåb, who claimed to be father of the G-60 policy. Nevertheless, he at once went against the G-60 policy by recommending 'development' of the towns outside the 'open water area'. Other Provincial Council politicians from the constituencies outside the 'open water area' also supported this policy. Some of the municipal politicians in the new population centres, however, also supported the idea of less centralization, because the drawbacks concerning housing, employment, and other social matters were recognized as new problems which were on the increase and which gave rise to criminality and alcohol abuse. Moreover, the increase in the fish production had stopped.

This was the first vague formulation of a changing political trend which demonstrates a new reluctance to accept all proposals from Danish experts for Greenlandic development.

In connection with the introduction of the G-60 policy a new piece of legislation, called the 'birth-place criterion' act, was ratified. This was an act affecting civil servants in Greenland. Under it civil servants born in Greenland should receive lower wages, about 15% less, than their Danish colleagues for the same work. In the course of time the gap

between the Greenlandic and Danish wagescales had widened, and this difference affected of course other groups of employees as well, attaining differences of about 50% below the Danish wagescale. It is obvious that such a criterion discriminated along ethnic borders, even if there are some Greenlanders who were born in Denmark and who spent their first five years there, or there are Danes born in Greenland, but they are only exceptions. These exceptions, however, are used as arguments to explain that the 'birth-place criterion' is not a discrimination according to ethnic origin. There is indeed legislation against such discrimination. But the inevitable effect of the 'birth-place criterion' is that it hits the Greenlanders in particular. There are dispensation rules for Greenlandic civil servants who have acquired Danish norms through a long stay in Denmark. These may obtain wages on the Danish level. This dispensation is based on the rules in the 'birth-place criterion' act itself. Another dèviation is that for locally employed Danes in Greenland who may have Greenlandic contracts. This group, however, has a different relation to the 'birth-place criterion', because their situation is created by a practice in issueing contracts. This 'birth-place criterion' is maybe not the most important feature of life in Greenland, but it is the point at which the feeling of unjust treatment becomes acute, because the Danish employees in many cases lack a fundamental qualification in that they cannot speak the Greenlandic Inuit language and they often can solve their problems only by calling on their Greenlandic colleagues to come to their aid.

On the Policy in the Seventies

In the seventies the separate ethnic identity of the Inuit came to play an increasing role in Greenlandic formulations of various kinds, including political. It was realized that the indiscriminate efforts to make 'equality' by copying Danish institutions did not in fact create equal conditions, but rather made it easier for the Danes in Greenland to gain increasing control of the private sector of the economic life. Remarkably, 'equality' was being interpreted to mean that Greenlandic demands need not be identical with the Danish ones. At this time a Danish professor in economy declared that the Greenlandic people had to drop their language if they wanted 'development', i.e., the western European standard of comfort. The effect of this declaration was

especially a greater consciousness of the value of having one's own culture and language than had ever been felt before.

But the first real demonstration of the differences between the Danish and the Greenlandic wishes in political life occurred in October 1972, when a joint Danish-Greenlandic referendum concerning the EEC showed that there was for the whole kingdom a majority for joining the EEC, while in Greenland there was a majority against it. This was also the first time that politicians enjoying general public respect campained actively against the expressed wishes of the Danes and so demonstrated that it was not a suspect thing to hold an opinion opposed to the 'recognized' point of view. Earlier there were only small groups, often regarded as nuisance groups, who demonstrated viewpoints divergent from those of the national majority. It may tell something about the difficult conditions under which such political work had to be carried out - Greenland being an 'equal' part of the kingdom, but restricted to communication and having access to information only through the channels of the administrative bodies. In this connection the Greenlandic Provincial Council has been regarded more and more as the real body of the national (Greenlandic) polity. This may be both right and wrong, as the Provincial Council has in fact no power, but rather much influence.

About the 'Home Rule' Policy

In 1973 the Minister of Greenland set up a new committee, consisting only of Greenlandic politicians, to examine the possibility of Greenlandic 'Home Rule', to consist of (1) a sort of regional government to have responsibility for Greenlandic affairs according to future agreements with the state, and (2) a regional legislative body for Greenlandic affairs.

The first recommendation of the committee was to treat as purely regional Greenlandic affairs such matters as the structure of the regional and local government, taxation, social work, occupational and economic affairs, education, cultural matters, hunting and the regulation of hunting, regulation of the exploitation of the renewable resources, tourist matters, marriage, the age of majority and the like, criminal law, and subsurface minerals etc., while the Danish government would retain authority to deal with building and fire

services, conservation of buildings and natural monuments, the established church, polity, control of imports and exports, courts and the administration of justice, reconnaissance of ice conditions, research concerning fish resources, finances and price control, defence, the geological survey, the postal service, telegraph etc., foreign affairs including fishing borders and international agreements, air transport, environmental protection, health services, harbours and harbour fees, and the planning of construction work, but with advice of the Provincial Council and the Association of the Greenlandic municipalities. This recommendation may be regarded as the basis of negotiation with the Danish authorities.

In the meantime the question of ownership of land became increasingly a part of the political debate in Greenland. Earlier, land was considered as falling under the Crown, that is, as more or less ownerless, because there has never been private ownership of land in Greenland. This principle was made explicit by Danish civil servants who formulated that land was publicly owned in Greenland, belonging to the state as a part of the Danish sovereignty. Before 1970 no protest was made against such a formulation. In the seventies a view at much more variance with the principle of public ownership arose, contending that the land in Greenland is neither ownerless nor publicly owned, but is collectively owned by the population of Greenland, and that sovereignty itself had nothing to do with ownership. Land in Greenland became a symbol of the separate Greenlandic ethnic identity, and the question of land ownership became in the Greenlandic context the fundamental question of the possibility for Greenlanders of controlling their own affairs and their own resources. Therefore the question of land ownership became a question also of ownership of the subsurface and its resources. The most evident demonstration of this policy occurred when the Greenlandic Provincial Council expressed in 1975 a declaration in principle that land (both surface and subsurface) belonged to the permanent population of Greenland. There is no legislation concerning the ownership of the surface in Greenland, while the mining act for Greenland stated that the mineral resources in Greenland belong to the state. This unanimous declaration of the Provincial Council, while it has no legislative force, nevertheless astonished many Danish politicians and perhaps embarrassed many of those who had declared that they always would be willing to listen to the political wishes of the Greenlanders. The declaration of the

Greenlandic Provincial Council is very often interpreted in Danish political circles as meaning that the Greenlandic people do not want to share the 'oil billions' with the Danes. The Danes are afraid that the desire for formal ownership represents a latent separatism, because they do not understand the longings behind this desire. There are very few Danes who ever understood the symbolic importance of land in Greenland and the real need of the Greenlanders for psychological backing in order to be able to participate in political life. The possession of formalized ownership of the Greenlandic resources would enable the Greenlanders to say: 'We have something which we can contribute to our mutual interests, and only our confidence that this is ours to contribute permits us to be so frank as to formulate our political goals according to our own wishes rather than according to the wishes of the government. As long as we are only receivers and not contributors, we will never reach the status of 'equality'. This is for me the very main reason for the formulation of the collective land ownership policy in Greenland. Other reasons need not to be neglected, however, as the feeling that Copenhagen does not take adequate measures to curb destructive exploitation tendencies, because certain investments for the exploitation of renewable resources have been permitted without sufficient consideration of the viability of the stock exploited. When the investments are realised, consideration of the viability of the animal stocks will play a very secondary role. The renewable fish resources in cold waters regenerate at a much lower speed than in warmer waters, and pollution dangers are much more severe in cold waters, especially oil pollution, partly because some ingredients of crude-oil congeal at 14° C, and partly because some plankton that transform oil into organic material are present only in very small quantities in cold waters. These considerations explain the great concern of the Greenlandic public opinion for the problems of care for the natural environment. Accordingly, among other things, a 200 miles economic zone has come to be regarded as necessary, because it seems impossible to guard the fish stocks against total eradication as long as international waters are exploited by fishermen with modern efficient equipment and little interest or will, as they have demonstrated, to protect the exploitable animal resources. In regard to all these questions, it should be remarked that the policies proposed are reactions to general concerns rather than efforts to solve individual concrete problems.

The Greenlandic polity problem is deeper, and concerns the question of its relevance to the community. The development of Greenland in the last 25 years must be regarded as a demonstration of the good intentions of the Danes. It was planned in Denmark, was paid for by the Danish tax-payers, and the construction work in Greenland itself was done either by Danes or, as was often the case, by Greenlandic teams under Danish leadership. Despite all the good intentions, we may say that the development in Greenland was decided to too great an extent by the Danish want to help Greenlanders rather than by the Greenlanders' appreciation of their own need. The framework of the community was a strange one for the Greenlanders, and, consequently, Greenlandic participation in the exploitation of the economic possibilities created by modernization has been and is very limited and is actually decreasing. Another factor may be still more serious. There are of course some errors that have been made during the 25 years, but the Greenlandic community does not in fact feel responsibility for these errors and regards them as the errors of the administrators and constructors. These errors have no relevance for the Greenlanders and they learn nothing from them. What has happened in Greenland seems irrevelant to many Greenlanders, and the resulting political passivity encourages the increasing dependency on economic support from Denmark. I suppose that the essential psychological condition for a new expression of the political wishes of the Greenlandic people is the conviction that the only way of relieving the increasing dependency on Danish economic support is to give the Greenlandic community the feeling that it has a responsiblity in the making of decisions in Greenland. The Greenlanders themselves must feel the relevance of them for the development of Greenland.

Nobody dreams of paradise in Greenland in connection with the 'Home Rule'. Errors will be made in Greenland in the future as well as they were made in the past, but they ought to be relevant errors from which the Greenlanders may learn to handle their own affairs better. The Greenlanders want to remain inside the Danish kingdom, but their political wishes are felt so deeply that we may expect serious confrontations if the Danish politicians don't understand the seriousness of the Greenlandic desire to be responsible for their own affairs inside Greenland.

There are problems enough in the Greenlandic-Danish relation, and one of the very serious problems is that the Danish politicians when

listening to the Greenlandic political wishes always interpret them into their own terms. When they want to demonstrate their understanding and sympathy for Greenlandic wishes, they too often speed up the preparatory work, with the result that preparations are finished before the Greenlandic conditions for succesful management have been achieved. This is in fact a very effective way to destroy the Greenlandic possibilities that are relevant for the Greenlanders themselves.

Thus one of the main problems may be to explain to the Danish politicians that the best encouragement they can give Greenlandic politics will be reticence. The Danish-Greenlandic relationship may be rather paradoxical. Therefore a formulation of new political visions in Greenland will unavoidably lead to confrontations that may upset the accepted dogma of harmonious relationship, that could so long pass unchallenged because political consciousness was in fact lacking in Greenland until recent years. If we want a better relationship based on mutual respect, we must not avoid even serious confrontations of political desires, for only in this way may we learn to understand each other and respect each other.

THE PREHISTORIC CULTURES IN GREENLAND: DISCONTINUITIES IN A MARGINAL AREA

by

Prof.Dr. Jørgen Meldgaard

Anthropologists generally characterize the Eskimo Culture as a marginal culture adapted to the conditions prevailing on the ice-bound coasts along the North-American continent, but also specialized and vulnerable when circumstances change. The concepts and models on which the scholars work in this geographical area, where life is at stake and disaster seems to threaten each new generation, are based on *Discontinuity*. Thus the archaelogists have divided the Eskimo prehistory into an extraordinary number of 'cultures', emphasizing differences at the expense of similarities and relationship. And yet, viewed in its entirety, through the times and in its vast territory stretching from Bering Strait to East Greenland the Eskimo Culture is characterized by its very homogeneity and community of race, language, and material culture. In this connexion the term *Continuity* is preferred.

Without evidence of language or race we may term the 'Eskimo Culture' more prudently as the period in which man has lived an Eskimo way of life on the arctic shores. The archaeology now estimates the age depth of this period to approx. 5000 years. During this space of time Eskimo or Eskimo-like tribes have repeatedly spread from east to west, and the inhabited zone has moved south or north - apparently in step with the climatic fluctuations. In Alaska and Canada vast and richly varied inland and coastal areas were accessible, and in critical periods the development was characterized by pronounced cultural changes. But the tribal groups survived, and the continuity was ensured.

Greenland was a marginal area farthest to the east in the Eskimo territory, and the connecting line was narrow and vulnerable: the access to Greenland was north of the 78th latitude via the northernmost Canadian islands. Archaeological finds indicate that this passage-way was passable only in certain periods, when optimal climatical conditions in the northern arctic zone made it possible to survive in the struggle for food.

During long periods in between the Eskimos in Greenland remained isolated from the rest of the Eskimo world. Being 'caught' in the Greenlandic cul-de-sac they were apparently forced south along the eastcoast or the westcoast, where they gradually dispersed and more or less succesfully became adapted to the new environments and conditions. In Greenland the inhabitable zone is linear, narrow, and vulnerable. The long strip of coast land surrounding the inland ice forms a triangle, one angle pointing south, and great sections of it acted as barriers where passage was rendered difficult or where no game was available in critical periods. Depending on the means of transportation or the hunting technique available to the tribe or culture in question, the isolating barrier might be a glaciered and iced-up Melville Bugt or the open sea and the ice-free fiords of South Greenland. The history of the Eskimos in Greenland is characterized not only by shifts of population groups from north to south and from south to north and by fluctuations in population size. Several periods have left so little and uncertain archaeological evidence of human activity that the discontinuity appears total in all of Greenland.

1. The Independence-I Culture: The First Greenlanders

We meet the first Eskimos in Greenland on the northernmost coasts to the Arctic Ocean about 4200 years ago. The immigrants have been given the name 'The Independence People', and the things they left behind are known as 'The Independence-I Culture'. Their dwelling sites were perceived first in Peary Land, and they and the people who came after, the Independence-II Culture people, who exploited the same hunting grounds about a thousand years later, were named after the Independence Fjord there.

The Independence-I Culture spread from Peary Land south along the coast of North-East Greenland, but the areas north of 80° Northern Latitude are the ones that have yielded most evidence on the people. The stretches of ice-free land are wide, for Greenland, and yet this is the part of the country which has the most fully recorded prehistory. The prehistorical evidence is literally lying in the open; the traces left on the shores of the lakes and the sea are amazingly fresh and revealing. The sites can be studied and recorded without the usual preliminary clearing of vegetation and removal of a covering layer of

soil; the artifacts are even often lying on the surface on the spot where they were left 4000 years ago. However, it needed a sharp-eyed archaeologist to discover the significance of these traces. Eigil Knuth was the scholar who saw it (1947), gave the people their name, and determinedly mapped out the settlements and excavated a great part of the ruins in a series of archaeological expeditions.

The period of settling was probably short and the dwellings lay scattered. In 1975, 158 dwelling sites distributed over 44 settlements had been recorded in the area from northern Ellesmere Island to the Dove Bugt in North-East Greenland. Most of the settlements are found along a line through southern Peary Land going from Independence Fjord and through Jørgen Brønlund Fjord to Midsommer Søer. C-14 analyses suggest the period of settling to be between 2400 and 2100 B.C. The period may have been the hundred years around 2300 B.C. if we take into consideration the uncertainty margin involved in this method of dating.

The largest settlement, 'Pearylandville', is situated inland at the Midsommer Søer, but most of the others are found on the coasts of the fiords. On raised beaches 11-21 m above present sea level the presence of hearths, stone rings, and gravel mounds bears witness of temporary dwellings built by a group of nomadic hunters (probably no more than 100 individuals). The cold and dry climate has preserved the bones of the game animals. Their foremost prey was musk ox; other game was hare, fox, fish, and birds; but seal bones occur rarely in the finds, caribou not al all, and it is likely that the caribou was absent in the Peary Land area.

A settlement in the Peary Land area of any longer duration implies a somewhat milder climate than the present. Both the Independence-I and the Independence-II culture did in fact exist in warm periods with favourable conditions for the few but important species of prey, but the hardships man must endure were worse than elsewhere in the Arctic. In the struggle for survival the critical factors were the cold and the winter darkness. The long winter's extreme cold with heavy storms and the sun below the horizon for 4½ months made three strict demands on the tribe: large depots of meat, warm clothing, and dwellings with heat and light.

In the winter months, when hunting was rendered impossible, food supplies must have been contained in the large meat caches nearby, where fish and meat of musk ox had been deposited. Stone-built

larders have been found close to many of the dwelling sites which are assumed to have been winter houses. No trace of clothing is preserved, but several sewing needles of bone are evidence of its importance. The favourite material for the Eskimo winter clothing is provided by the caribou, but, as this animal was not among their prey in Peary Land, their clothing must have been made of musk ox and fox skins. For Eskimos in the northern districts the materials for the common winter dwelling were mainly snow, turf or a combination of both, but in Peary Land the Independence-I people appear to have made do with a dwelling form the construction of which was based on the skin tent. The sparse occurence of turf provided material for low earth walls only, and the proper snow house, which is dome-shaped and made of cut snow blocks, belongs to a later stage in the development of the Eskimo culture (probably invented at the time of the early Dorset Culture around 1000 B.C., in central Arctic Canada).

The structure of the Independence-I Culture dwelling was also influenced by the fuel used. The fact that wood was used for fuel is another paradoxical feature of this oldest Eskimo culture in Greenland. In a district where the tree-growth rises no more than 1½ inches above the ground (arctic willow) and where man would seem to need especially seal blubber for heating and light - he managed without the blubber-lamp. The fire burning in the centrally placed hearth was nourished by driftwood, willow twigs, and animal bones. It is unlikely that he was able to find sufficient fuel to keep a fire going all through the winter, as wood was scarce and bones will not burn properly unless they are well primed with blubber. The two months of total darkness in midwinter compelled people to live indoors and to spend long periods of idleness in a dwelling without heating and light. This kind of hibernation must have been the more critical when the inmates also had to economize on boiled meat and hot soup. And they badly must have wanted the fat blubber of sea mammals to keep warm inside.

However, Eigil Knuth, the explorer of the prehistory of Peary Land, regards it as an established fact that the Independence-I people were maintaining their peculiar and highly specialized way of life for a period of time, in spite of the adverse wintering conditions in northernmost Greenland. During the same period, and presumably in the course of the subsequent centuries, the people spread south along the coasts of North-East Greenland to more favourable environments. The

very dwelling form bears witness of their winter life. Many variations of their dwelling form have been recognized, ranging from solitary hearths to solid stone and gravel rings. Their common trait is that a single small family, a 'core family', is contained in a dwelling of about 3 x 4 m having a round or oval ground-plan and a hearth in the centre of the room. The hearth is often square, built of four flagstones placed edge-ways at the centre of the site, between two rows of partly buried stones which form an approx. 50 cm wide 'central-passage' structure through the dwelling. On either side are the platforms, probably skin clad, where the inhabitants would sit or, contrary to the Eskimo custom, lie asleep parallel to the edge of the platform. Near the hearth there is sometimes a pile of round pebbles, so-called boiling stones, used to heat water in skin bags. The winter dwelling is mainly distinguished by its more solid construction where the wall is seen as a gravel mound or row of close-set stones. Walls and roof may have formed a dome-shaped construction with tent poles to carry the skin roof with an insulating cover of snow. Of the summer dwelling often only the hearth remains, or the hearth plus 'central passage'. The ground-plan is in many respects very similar to that of ancient dwelling forms in the circumpolar area, even as far away as Lapland. But also the Eskimo ruins from Pre-Dorset and Dorset cultures found in Arctic Canada belong to the same fundamental type.

The artifacts are mainly carefully fashioned tools of flint. Bone objects are fairly rare; only few types of implement have been preserved. However, here as in other Eskimo cultures the bones of game animals must have been the most common raw material for making tools, and certainly also wood has been used for handles and shafts, as driftwood is well suited for this purpose. Though only little made of these organic materials has been preserved, stone tools such as the many types of knives, scrapers, burins, and adzes for working in bone or wood reflect their importance. The flint quality is very good, and it was fashioned into beautiful and regular shapes of established types. Of the hunting weapons the arrow is provided with a small arrow-head either pointed-oval or having a tang for the shaft, the spear likewise with a larger spear-head. Knife-blades and scraper-blades are common.

Characteristic is especially the burin, a particular type of knife-blade for cleaving bone, tusk, or wood. It is one of the oldest specialized tool types in the European stone age. In the Eskimo cultures the iron-bladed burin has survived until the present time, and some Canadian

Eskimos still carry it in their tool box. From Alaska to Greenland it is one of the guide forms in the Eskimo stone-age cultures. At the tip of the burin-blade of flint is a small strong cross-edge with which to cut a groove into a raw material such as hard bone. By moving the burin up and down the groove is made deeper, and by cutting several grooves long, slender items can be split off to make needles, awls, scrapers, arrow-shafts, and the like. The burin-blade is mounted on a small and short thick handle of bone or wood.

The narrow cross-edge on the burin is made in a special way by pressing out a small blade, a burin-spall. The burin requires frequent whetting, and the burin-spall is a very common type of artifact. The small blade-like spall had a function, too, serving as an instrument for engraving or as an awl, the point being finely retouched. It is known from the oldest Eskimo cultures, but was apparently especially popular in the Independence-I Culture where 20% of all tool specimens found are burin-spalls.

The most common tool in the Independence-I Culture is the micro-blade, a small thin and sharp blade skilfully spalled off the flint core. Like the burin the micro-blade is an ancient stone-age tool that remained in use longer with the Eskimos than with others. Until they acquired iron, the hunting people could not do without micro-blades for cutting the skins for clothes and for other skilled work requiring sharp cutters. As side-blades on knives and spear-heads a row of micro-blades was very useful. Of a total of about 2000 tools from the Independence-I Culture 36% are micro-blades.

As already mentioned, bone specimens are rarely found in the Independence culture. No harpoon-heads appear in the finds from this period in northernmost Greenland, and no extensive hunt of sea mammals seems to have been carried out. Flint flakers for the manufacture of flint tools are common. They are cut from especially hard bones into small, thick sticks. The blunt tip of the stick is pressed against the flint blade to flake off thin spalls. The small flint flaker has been provided with a strong handle of wood or bone. Most numerous are the sewing needles, small and carefully fashioned bone needles split off a tubular bone and provided with a tiny circular eye. The design and frequent occurrence of the needle tell that the art of sewing was highly developed, and that this work demanded much of the woman's time. The preparation of skins for clothing and housing will also have involved specific tools and much time, but for this

application none of the usual Eskimo bone tools have been preserved, and no evidence is left of the clothing.

The Indpendence-I Culture artifacts offer many points of resemblance to archaeological finds from northwestern Alaska dating from 3000 B.C. The 'Denbigh Flint Complex' is the designation of the traces left by a hunting people on a series of settlements on the coast and the inland from the Bering Sea to the Arctic Ocean. Most of the important Independence-I Culture flint tools recur in this district, and the design is almost identical. The Denbigh Culture people hunted caribou on the tundra and fished in the rivers, but they also had become adapted to life on the arctic shores where they harpooned seals. They lived like Eskimos, and in all probability they represent 'the first Eskimos'. In the middle of the 3rd millennium B.C. they spread east along the coasts of Arctic Canada. Seal, walrus, and caribou were their foremost prey, but also musk ox was important game in certain tracts. Presumably some groups of the hunting people lived mainly from musk-ox hunting on some of the large islands north of the continent. A large population of musk oxen subsisted in a belt of northern Ellesmere Land, where the caribou was rare or absent, and the belt continued across the straits to North Greenland and to Peary Land. Man followed this way, the 'Musk-Ox Way', and in the course of the subsequent centuries the people had spread their 'Independence-I Culture' and had settled in East Greenland - at least as far south as Scoresby Sund.

2. **The Independence-II Culture in North Greenland**

The Independence-II Culture tells of an Eskimo people who repeated the activities of their precursors in northern Greenland a little more than a thousand years later. They, too, were traced by Eigil Knuth on ancient raised beaches in the Peary Land area, and like the Independence-I people their foremost prey was the musk ox and their dwellings were based on the ground-plan having a centrally placed hearth and a 'central passage'.

C-14 datings suggest that the people lived in Peary Land around 800 B.C. They were fewer than their precursors, or their stay may have been briefer. 41 dwelling sites distributed over 10 settlements are known; tools found number only 439. History repeated itself, it seems,

in that another climatic amelioration set in and enabled man to reoccupy the most northerly coasts of Greenland. The hunting had again become profitable, and the cold could be overcome with the means available.

It is possible that this small group of people in northernmost Greenland, whom we call the Independence-II people, have in fact wintered for a succession of years in the area where their settlements have until now been established, i.e., from the coast of Ellesmere Land at Robeson Channel over Peary Land to Danmark Fjord. But so few were they, that they must have been part of a larger tribe or their group would have died out. Like the Independence-I people they presumably sought the richer and less cold hunting grounds of North-East Greenland, where their presence is indicated by scattered and not yet investigated traces. If this be the case, then their settlements in Peary Land's northern tracts were bases set up on their migration east along the 'Musk-Ox Way' and may have been used permanently for only a few decennia in a favourable climatic phase, though adequate for use in the reopening of the way north of Greenland.

Musk-ox hunting was the foundation of their existence, but also extensive sealing was performed. Seal bones are found on the sites, and many specimens of sealing harpoons are preserved. None of the bones represent walrus, but several tools are made of its tusk. This important game animal was presumably hunted outside the Peary Land area, in North-East Greenland, or it was killed 'on the way' at the coasts of Ellesmere Land. As in Independence-I the bones of hare, bird, and fish are common in the finds. The fox is absent, the caribou still fails to occur, and the dog is unknown.

The dwelling is developed from the Independence-I dwelling forms. The characteristic type, having a central passage and a central hearth, is built with particularly thin and long flagstones placed edgeways, and the ground-plan shows new details.

The artifacts are in the same way developed from the tools and weapons that were used to provide food in the same tracts a thousand years earlier. Strangely enough bow and arrows are no longer in use, and spear and lance have become more important (along with the harpoon). But apart from that the development merely consists in a gradual change of the old types.

The alterations - in dwelling and implement equipment - had been made in Canada. It is assumed that North Greenland (and probably

North-East Greenland too) was empty of people during the latter half of the 2nd millennium in consequence of a climatic deterioration. Correspondingly, archaeological finds in the northern parts of Arctic Canada indicate that the inhabited zone had moved far south. However, in the milder country of central and southern Arctic Canada, where game was abundant, the old Eskimo culture, of which Independence-I is an early and specific form, was continued. In this country, like for instance in the Iglulik area, a moderate and stable development in the material culture is observed from 2200 B.C. through the entire period of the so-called Pre-Dorset Culture, until around 1100 B.C., when radical changes set in as people had to adapt their material culture to the new conditions of a milder climate; the Dorset Culture was being formed. During this critical transition period, and in the early phase of the Dorset Culture, Eskimo groups again dispersed in the north to reconquer their lost country and the coast to the Arctic Ocean. A century or two later this people, now adapted to the special conditions prevailing in the far north, were to appear as the Independence-II people in the Peary Land area.

The tools and weapons are distinguishable from the Independence-I equipment by many small details. The flint specimens are made of another kind of flint, and, although the fundamental types are the same, knives, scrapers, and burins show differences in style. The burin for instance is now fashioned by grinding, its small cross-edge being ground in a facet instead of flaking off the burin-spall. The material of bone tools is greater, and new are the harpoon-heads for sealing and lances for musk-ox hunting. A new type of needle, having an oval cross-section and an oval eye, tells of a new sewing technique and perhaps of new materials for clothing.

3. **The Sarqaq Culture and the First West-Greenlanders**

The Eskimo tribes who became the first inhabitants of West Greenland were in several important respects related to the Independence-I people in Greenland's far north. They had common ancestors in Alaska and Canada, and they used the same fundamental types of weapons and implements. The dwelling sites hitherto disclosed are not so perfectly preserved as the Peary Land settlements, but again the fundamental type is the same: turfed or tent houses erected on a

round or oval ground-plan having an open, centrally placed hearth. These first West-Greenlanders are called the Sarqaq Culture people.

The archaeologists have known the Sarqaq Culture's stone tools for more than 100 years. From several settlements, especially in the Disko Bugt and Umanak Districts, stone tools were picked up on the beach below the old middens and later distributed to private collections and museums in Sweden and Denmark. But the question of their age remained unanswered.

It was the excavation of the Sermermiut settlement at Jakobshavn Isfjord in 1953 that finally settled the problems of chronology. There the course of history was clearly visible in the over 2 m deep midden deposits. At the bottom and directly on the former beach were the stone tools from the Sarqaq Culture. This 'culture layer' was covered by a layer of turf without any finds, upon which came a horizon of stone tools of other types and raw materials: the traces of the Dorset Culture. Subsequently a couple of naturally formed turf layers, and finally finds left by the Thule Culture whalers who had spread south along the westcoast around 1200: the direct ancestors of the Greenlanders.

Since then the Sarqaq Culture has been traced from Upernavik in the north to Julianehåb District in the south, and on the eastcoast as far north as Angmagssalik and very likely Scoresby Sund. Datings by the C-14 method give the time of the Sermermiut Sarqaq layer to around 1600 B.C. Oldest is a settlement at Qornoq in Godthåb Fjord from around 2000 B.C., youngest are the classical finds from Sarqaq village in Disko Bugt from around 900 B.C.

The stone tools are the limited material on which our interpretation of the Sarqaq culture is based. For most of the settlements investigated the preservation-conditions have been so poor that all organic material has disappeared. Specimens of bone are rarely preserved. One exception is the Itivnera settlement in Godthåb Fjord where the bones of the game animals were still present. Several thousands of bones of caribou (and a few of seal) told of a settlement of caribou hunters serving as a hunting base in the months of autumn. Among the material preserved were a number of bone tools, of which a couple of small harpoon-heads are the most interesting. The type is unusual, the rear-end being pointed to fit into the hollow of a wooden shaft. The highly developed and complicated harpoon is a characteristic distinghuishing the Eskimo cultures. An important

feature is the loose harpoon-head made of bone. When the head has penetrated into the seal, the line attached to it will be pulled tight and turn the head to a transversal position so that the seal, however big, becomes firmly anchored. Sarqaq's harpoon-head, as we know it from Itivnera and from a single Disko Bugt specimen, has no central line-hole and does not turn across. In these harpoon-heads, oldest in Greenland, the hole for the line is placed in the extreme pointed rear-end; and these are provided with a strong barb at the fore-end. Among the bone tools preserved were a number of flint flakers and an 'engraver' of tusk with a burin-spall for a blade at the tip.

The Itivnera excavation also produced stone lamps, small flat and circular lamps 5-15 cm across and made of soap stone. This oldest type of Eskimo lamp was merely a source of light and had a low heating capacity. The open hearth nourished by wood and bones served to heat the dwelling and cook the food. But then the round blubber-lamp gave excellent light. Why exactly circular? Probably because the wick was placed in the middle of the flat vessel. It may have been floating in the fuel, liquid blubber or caribou tallow, but it is also possible that the Sarqaq people had invented a special refinement: the tubular wick (invented in Europe as late as in the 18th century). With the Itivnera lamps small coned objects of soap stone were found, carefully fashioned, and flattened and slightly hollowed at the top. Place the cone in the middle of the lamp filled with liquid blubber, lay wick moss round the cone, and light the lamp: the whole wick circle will burn around the top of the cone, the blubber is sucked up, and the circular flame is soon united in one big flame right over the centre of the cone. A practical test has shown that the system works, and that its light-intensity is many times higher than the intensity of the light emitted from a conventional 'punctiform' wick.

In West Greenland the stone specimens found in the Sarqaq Culture were mostly made of a flint-like hard siliceous slate called angmaq. Common flint rarely occurs, but it was employed for certain cutters and scrapers requiring high strength. Angmaq was worked like flint, but being less hard it could be further fashioned by grinding, and knives, burins, and adzes received this after-treatment. The coarser quartzite found use in areas far from the basaltic grounds where angmaq was common. Quartz was employed mainly as a material for small sharp micro-blades.

As mentioned above, the main types are recognized from the Inde-

pendence-I Culture: lanceolate, partly tanged arrow-heads and spear-heads, knife-blades, scrapers, adzes. The types are the same, but there are differences in style. Still there are a few types special for the Sarqaq Culture, i.e., small triangular arrow-heads, certain specialized knife-blades, and long, slender stone awls.

The Sarqaq people settled mainly where the sealing was good. But in addition settlements used seasonally were established in the inner fiords, and hunting in the hinterland was also important. However, bones of game animals are absent, so we can only conclude from the localities chosen for the settlements and from the types of hunting weapons left that the Sarqaq people may have killed the same animals, birds, and fish as did the Greenlandic hunters in historical times 3000 years later. On the other hand it is unlikely that whaling played any part in the Sarqaq Culture, whereas caribou hunting was probably an important factor. However, the hunting methods differed from the later technique in certain important respects. The Sarqaq people managed without the specialized kayak and without the large dog-sledge. They may have had a skin boat of the *umiak* type, which is an ancient boat type in the circumpolar area, but the boat has not been traced in their culture. The dog-sledge was probably unknown; the few dog bones that have been found at Itivnera and in contemporary Canadian cultures are the remains of animals who may have carried a load, pulled a small skin sledge, and were used for hunting.

The ancestors of the Sarqaq Culture people, like those of the Independence-I, must be sought in Arctic Canada and earlier still in northwestern Alaska. They, too, spread from Ellesmere Island across the strait to Norh-West Greenland in the late 3rd millennium, perhaps somewhat later than the musk-ox hunters in the northernmost tracts. The ancestors of our Sarqaq people may have spread east in Canada along a more southerly belt where caribou and seal were the foremost prey. The distance across Smith Sound to Greenland's Thule District is no more than 50 km. From Thule it was necessary to go south via Melville Bugt, ice-packed, but rich in game, to reach the northernmost parts of West Greenland. However, as yet the archaeologists have been unable to substantiate this immigration route by finds of settlements in the Thule and Melville Bugt areas.

The Sarqaq people thrived in West Greenland for more than a thousand years -judging from the C-14 datings. The archaeological investigations are too few and too random to determine how long after

900 B.C. they remained on their hunting grounds. But everything seems to show that they had gone when the Eskimos of the Dorset Culture, well established in Disko Bugt around year 0, dispersed along the coast. The Sarqaq people were presumably incapable of adapting to the changing conditions that were the result of the climatic deterioration in the middle of the 1st millennium B.C. And no ways led from West Greenland to better hunting grounds.

4. **Two Dorset Culture periods**

The Dorset Culture in West Greenland falls into two distinct periods: an early settlement which may be called *'Dorset-I'* and which left traces on most parts of the coast, and a ramification of the latest phase of the Canadian Dorset Culture which only affects the northern part of the coast and may be called *'Dorset-II'*.

As mentioned above, one of the thick midden layers excavated at the Sermermiut settlement near Jakobshavn contained stone tools corresponding to the Canadian Dorset Culture. The deposit was clearly separate from the lower Sarqaq horizon, and the C-14 datings also clearly told its age: 2nd century A.D. Unfortunately, Sermermiut is the only Dorset settlement in West Greenland that has been dated. The Dorset-I people may have subsisted on this coast for centuries, though hardly for as long a period as the Sarqaq people. The Dorset traces are fewer and more uniform, and nothing suggests that the culture underwent any changes during the period of settling in West Greenland. Investigations made until now indicate that the people in the Disko Bugt in the Dorset-I period had settled fairly densely or that the period of settling lasted rather long. Their sites are on the whole found at the same localities where the Sarqaq people had settled. North and south of Disko Bugt are only few and scattered finding places for their stone tools. In Godthåb Fjord a couple of sites are known; single finds have been made in Julianehåb District - and on the southeastcoast of Greenland the same tool types have been found in two or three localities in the Angmagssalik District.

The presence of dwellings from this Dorset people has not been established. They would presumably have had essential features in common with the Independence-II Culture and the earlier Dorset Culture in Canada, namely the 'central passage' of stones placed edge-

ways and the central hearth. And the reason why the presence of such ruins has not yet been established is presumably the simple fact that West Greenland later became rather densely populated, and people took the stones from the sites to use them as building material for new dwellings, graves, or meat depots.

The Dorset-I Culture artifacts have many points of resemblance to those of the Independence-II Culture in northernmost Greenland. The same stone material is preferred: the pale flint-like calcedony. The flint blades are variations of the same types: spears and lances with pointed-oval side-blades and end-blades with notches for hafting, corresponding asymmetric knife-blades, small micro-blades, ground slender burins. A few harpoon-heads of bone are preserved, and a couple of them are in small details, such as the form of the shaft-groove, identical to the harpoons in Independence-II. One might be tempted to derive this West Greenland Dorset Culture from the Independence-II people in Norht-East Greenland. A prolonged settlement in East Greenland and migrations south of Kap Farvel might explain the connection and might also bridge the time gap between the Peary Land datings and the Disko Bugt datings. However, again we must consider other and more direct connecting routes north across Melville Bugt and the Thule District to the Canadian Dorset area. There, too, a close relationship can be established, though the time factor is equally disturbing. All types of stone tools and harpoon-heads have close parallels in the Dorset Culture in the Iglulik area in central Arctic Canada. But the similarities are found in a very early Dorset phase approx. 1100-900 B.C. Even if we consider West Greenland a remote and marginal area in this connection, the 'delay' in the appearance of Dorset-I in this area is suspiciously long. It is possible that the explanation can be found in the uninvestigated fields between Iglulik and West Greenland. Like the question of the origin of the Sarqaq Culture, this problem may one day be settled when excavations are undertaken in the Thule District and Melville Bugt.

The Dorset-I people seem to repeat the history of the Sarqaq people. They, too, vanish from West Greenland, and again we are unable to say for certain when and why. A climatic deterioration in the 4th-5th century B.C. may have been the main reason why this people were lost.

The last Dorset people in Greenland, *'Dorset-II'*, settled in the Thule

District in North Greenland and on the northern westcoast of Greenland. 1935-37 Erik Holtved excavated several settlements on the coast of Inglefield Land and near Old Thule, and made rich finds of stone and bone objects from the Dorset Culture. They have been dated to the last phase of the Canadian Dorset Culture, 900-700 B.C. From the Thule District a few groups have crossed Melville Bugt, and have left two certain traces on the westcoast. In the Upernavik District a wooden carving was found, covered with naturalistically executed human faces. In its style and execution this work of art is identical to a number of corresponding carvings found in the Iglulik area in central Canada, carvings that have been dated to the same period as the Dorset phase in the Thule District, i.e., approx. 8th century B.C. The other trace turned up by chance at Ritenbenk in Disko Bugt: a harpoon-head found in 1953 by a Greenlandic boy. The type has been dated with certainty to the same period. Apart from these two finds nothing in West Greenland has yet been identified as objects belonging to this last Dorset people. Although they were few in number and their time of life on the coast was probably short, there is no reason to doubt that they left stone tools behind that have simply escaped our attention.

In the Thule District they did, however, leave traces, characteristic and also well preserved. The artifacts represent types developed from early Dorset in Arctic Canada. The harpoons show adaptation to sealing from the ice-edge and at the seal's breathing hole. Snow-knives indicate that the dome-shaped snow house was in use. Fish are caught with barbed harpoons. Flint is the favourite raw material for knives and scrapers, and this is the period in which iron is introduced in the Eskimo culture. It is the local meteoric iron that is being used for knives and burins and for blades in a new type of implement, the *ulo,* which later developed into the universal woman's tool in most Eskimo cultures.

The last Dorset people are famous for their rich production of carvings in tusk, bone, and wood. In the Thule District they left behind a pair of excellent specimens of their art: two human figures carved in walrus tusk. The male figure from Inuarfigssuak in Inglefield Land is only 6 cm tall, but he appears powerful and monumental. A special feature is the raised collar mounting above his ears; it is evidence of the Dorset people's peculiar clothing which appears to have been a collared fur coat, hoodless and almost long to the ground - remarkably

like the old Lapp costume in North Scandinavia. The other figure represents a naked woman with top-knot and strong arms. The figure is carved with bold and sure cuts and no final trimming. We do not know exactly where its was found, but the style is Dorset and quite different from the armless an stylized female figures of the later Thule Culture.

5. The Thule Culture: Ancestors of the Modern Greenlander

The old Dorset people disappeared when new Eskimo tribes arrived on the coasts of Greenland. They are the Greenlanders' direct ancestors, and in their mythical world the Dorset Culture lived on as the prehistoric 'Tunit' people. In Canada and Greenland the Dorset men became oppressed and were driven away by the new people rapidly spreading east from Alaska during the 9th and 10th century. They were the whalers of the Thule Culture, Eskimos with a new economy and new social systems. In a period of climatic amelioration and open waters they were following in the wake of the new big game: the whale. The Dorset people, small families dragging their small sledges, little by little withdrew east. Some may still have been in North Greenland when the new people crossed Smith Sound, others moved south, as we have heard, across Melville Bugt to West Greenland, which was empty of people, and some groups apparently went through the north of Greenland to East Greenland. A few centuries later the Thule people reached East Greenland too, and it is possible that the two tribes mixed peacefully there at the far eastern boundaries of the land of the Eskimos. The specific character of the Angmagssalik Eskimos, such as certain traits in their rich and distinctive art, might be explained by such a cultural meeting at the time when the Dorset and Thule peoples mixed.

The Thule Culture people settled for good in the present Thule District around the year 900, and they have remained in the district until the present time. In the course of the centuries the climate changed and hence their economic basis; the whale disappeared and caribou hunting was abandoned, but the Thule people were capable of adapting to the new conditions. Seal and walrus were reliable prey in this area.

The history of the Thule Culture begins in the Thule District. This is where the oldest traces of the culture are found, and the people are

named after the district. In 1927, when the results of Knud Rasmussen's 5th Thule Expedition to Arctic Canada were published, Therkel Mathiassen chose the denomination 'Thule Culture' for the approx. 5000 artifacts which he had excavated in the oldest house sites. Artifacts of corresponding types were known from ancient midden layers dug out near Knud Rasmussen's own Thule Station at the Polar Eskimo settlement Umanaq.

Since then further traces of the Thule Culture have been found in other parts of *North Greenland*. Oldest are the sites excavated at Nugdlit, on the northcoast of Westenholme Fjord, and on the coast of Inglefield Land, i.e., on the small Ruin Ø in the Marshall Bugt. In 1947 Erik Holtved investigated the large Nugdlit settlement with almost 50 ruins apparently deriving from the earliest Thule Culture. Excavations exposed dwellings built of turf and large stones and provided with a 'cold trap', i.e., a sunken entrance passage preventing the cold air getting in. A large platform filled the far end of the room, and side-benches for an extension of the family are often seen. At the edge of the platform the blubber-lamp gave heat and light, its long strip of wick moss burning with many small flames. It was a big step forward from the small oval lamp illuminating the Dorset house. In addition they often had a hearth built into a niche in the front-wall or side-wall. It is the solid and permanent winter dwelling of the Thule Culture as we know it from the Canadian area.

The 'Nugdlit Phase' is a suitable name for the first stage of the Thule culture. According to C-14 datings recently made the Nugdlit settlement was well established in the middle of the 10th century, and we may place the Nugdlit Phase in the period 900-1000. Already then the basic elements of the later forms of the Greenlandic hunting culture were present, such as the sledge with dog traction and toggles for draught-lines. Timber is scarce so the sledge is still fairly small and narrow, only about 50 cm wide, with runners cut from whale bone and sledge-shoes of baleen. For transportation in deep and soft snow the Nugdlit people had another type of sledge without runners, a toboggan. In its simplest form the toboggan consists merely of a skin, and the skin toboggan has been used by many Eskimo tribes. However, the typical toboggan which is known from the Red Indians living in the northern forests consists of thin wooden boards latched together; it is a long, flat sledge with the forepart turned up. The Siberian nomads have a toboggan which is shaped almost like a boat with a tapering

stem, very like the Lapp pulk in Lapland. The toboggan of the Nugdlit Eskimos was made of 12-14 cm wide and almost 1 m long parallel strips of baleen intertwined with leather straps. This type of sledge is known from the Canadian Thule Culture and has remained in use on Baffin Land until the present time. In Greenland it is known only from Nugdlit.

The large skin boat, the *umiak,* was common, and it is likely that it was used both for whaling and as a means of transportation. However, the kayak and the sealing equipment that went with the kayak may have been more important than all other new elements brought to Greenand with the Thule Culture. The sealing harpoon was already fully developed in the Nugdlit Phase: a harpoon-head and fore-shaft freely discharged from the shaft, a long line and an inflatable bladder with mouth-piece and plug. On the ice seal and walrus were caught with a simpler harpoon. On land bow and arrows were used for caribou hunting, and birds were killed with the *bola*; bone balls on a string hurled into a flock of birds like a charge of shot. The sea birds were brought down with bird-darts provided with three barbed bone prongs.

Also the household utensils for men and women are from the Nugdlit Phase onwards of the same kind as the tools that later became wellknown throughout Greenland. But there are differences in style, which means that the ancient forms of, e.g., harpoon-heads are easily distinguished from later products. The snow-knife had obtained its final design with a long, curved blade, an implement handed over from the old Dorset people in Canada who created the art of building snow huts from cut snow blocks 2000 years earlier. The presence of the snow-knife in the early Thule Culture proves that the snow house was used as a temporary dwelling for travellers away from their permanent winter dwellings. The various designs of knives for carving, cutting, and cleaving hard bone or softer wood were now mostly iron-bladed; flint was less used for blades, and slate only as a substitute when there was no iron available. Every woman owned an *ulo,* her all-purpose tool. Its heavy blade for flensing, cutting, and scraping is a product of the Thule Culture. The familiar stalk between handle and blade is still missing. Her lamps and cooking vessels of soap stone are rather coarse, but functioned just as well as the later more refined forms. A single lamp made of clay shows that soap stone was a fairly new material, and at the same time it confirms the near relationship to Alaska where the ancestors had used clay vessels.

The Nugdlit find has also preserved the oldest remains of the Greenlandic costume. Best preserved are a couple of gutskin jackets, of which the front and the back end in broad, rounded flaps. This jacket served as an outer clothing and was probably used in connection with whale catch. During later centuries it changed into the well-known gutskin anorak used by kayak men on the coasts further south in Greenland.

Sometime after the end of the Nugdlit Phase the Thule Culture people spread to *East Greenland.* In the Peary Land area are traces of their migrations in the north of Greenland in the 12th century, and it is likely that they settled down on the rich hunting grounds at the fiords of North-East Greenland in the course of the following centuries. Evidence from the 15th century tells of another immigration in the north of Greenland. Tent rings indicate summer camps, but the most enlightning find was made farthest northeast on the Peary Land coast: a complete *umiak* from the 15th century (C-14 dating). The entire well-preserved skeleton of the 12 m long boat, and the equipment that was found with it, were laboriously dug out of the snow by Eigil Knuth in 1949 and transported south on sledges.

All along the many-fiorded coast from the Dove Bugt in the north to the Scoresby Sund in the south are abandoned settlements from the Thule Culture and its later phases. 518 winter houses and 836 so-called tent rings have been recorded, and far from all coasts have been surveyed for prehistoric remnants. Many expeditions to North-East Greenland have undertaken archaeological investigations, in particular in the Dove Bugt, Clavering Ø, and Kong Oscar Fjord areas. The biggest and most comprehensively excavated settlement is situated in Dødemandsbugt on Clavering Ø. Helge Larsen worked there in 1932, and the digging was resumed in 1948. More than 3000 artifacts from 32 of the 43 settlement sites constitute the material on which the classification of the development of the Thule Culture in North-East Greenland is based. The immigrants from the north remained a tribe by itself and kept up the Thule traditions until the 16th century, when new groups arrived from the south. They were the Eskimos from West Greenland who had spread south by Kap Farvel during the later phase of the Norse settlement in South-West Greenland and migrated north along the eastcoast. The tribes had common ancestors in the Thule District 300-400 years back, and apparently they mixed peacefully. 'The North-East-Greenlandic Mixed Culture' is the archaeological denomination for

this culture. In the course of the 18th century it developed a local character, which is reflected in dwelling forms and tools.

In the 18th century a numerous population still subsisted on the 3000 km long coast strip. Their choice of game was rich and varied, among others seal, walrus, and caribou. However, around the year 1800 a disastrous situation must have arisen. We have no safe knowledge of the nature of the disaster, but a change in climate is assumed to have been the ultimate cause. We know for certain that a few families were still alive in 1823, because then Europeans and Eskimos met for the first and only time in that part of the country. In August 1823 the English Captain Clavering encountered a group of 12 Eskimos on the southcoast of the island that was later named after him. Later expeditions found only abandoned sites.

During the 12th century at the latest the Thule Culture spread south from the Thule District across the Melville Bugt to *Greenland's westcoast.* However, the traces left from this first occupation are few and uncertain, and only one dating by the C-14 method has been made in West Greenland. It applies to the above-mentioned Sermermiut settlement near Jakobshavn, where the Thule Culture people lived from at least the middle of the 13th century. Further north in Disko Bugt a large settlement was excavated in 1933 on the island Igdlutalik. It is probably somewhat older than Sermermiut. The dwellings are small circular winter houses of turf and stone, and they have an indoor hearth of the kind used during the early period in the Thule District.

The safest evidence we have of Thule Culture settlements, existing in northern West Greenland already before 1200, is provided by the Norsemen in South Greenland. A reliable description of Greenlandic conditions, Historia Norvegiae, from the time shorly before 1200, gives the following account: '... farther north hunters have found some small men whom they call 'skraelinge' When a skrealing is hit alive by a weapon his wound stays white without any blood, but if he dies his blood hardly stops flowing. They lack iron, use walrus tusks for missiles, sharp stones instead of knives'.

The people adapted fairly soon to their new environment. The main difference was the longer summer season with open waters, and the character of certain aspects of their economy and hence of certain types of hunting tools changed. Therkel Mathiassen named the continuation of the Thule Culture in West Greenland the *'Inugsuk*

Culture', and it has been defined as the period in which the Eskimos were being influenced by the Norsemen. This impact is probably some-what over-estimated, and the archaeological remains indicate no significant change in the Eskimo material culture caused by the Norse contact during the three centuries when they had occasion to meet the Norsemen in West Greenland. Altogether the two mutually strange cultures appear to have learned nothing from one another that might have improved their existence. On the contrary, their encounters were characterized by quarrels and fights already in the 14th century.

Finds of objects deriving from the Norsemen are frequently made on the sites of the Inugsuk Culture. But apart from the iron specimens all these objects may be described as curios: strange and exotic things to possess. They had no practical purpose and they could not be integrated into the Eskimo hunting culture. Bits of woven fabric or ring-mail, milk-strainers and sheep-shears, chessmen and draughtsmen, spindle-whorls and loom-weights, fragments of church bells - obviously souvenirs of no lasting value. A peg through the draughtsman and it is a top; the filed fragment of the church bell tinkles on from the ear of an Eskimo girl. There are few instances of imitation of Norse objects; their metal spoons are copied in bone, and small coopered casks are made of wooden staves like in Europe. There is no doubt that the Norsemen's property was subject to desire - a fact that probably accelerated the destruction of their villages - but even more were their peculiar features subject to wonder. This is reflected in, e.g., the small wooden figures representing Norsemen which have been found in many Eskimo ruins all over the westcoast. The execution is simple and the style typically Eskimo, without arms or facial features, but the oddities of the Norse costume are emphasized. The liripipe hood, broad-rimmed hat or tall cap, the long coat; such features are so precisely caricatured that within the long period of contact each little doll can be dated to the century in which it was made by the fashion of its clothing.

A special feature of the Norse objects found in Eskimo ruins makes it inadvisable to interpret each as being the result of a direct contact with a contemporarily living Norse culture. Often the kind of artifacts found and the composition of the find are in no way different from the selection of objects which the present-day archaeologist may obtain from a small excavation in one of the Norse ruins. It is a well-known fact that even after Hans Egede's time the Eskimos were digging in the

old Norse houses in order to get iron. In addition they found many interesting treasures to take home to their turfed houses. That is why not all Eskimo ruins with Norse artifacts can be dated to the time of the Norsemen.

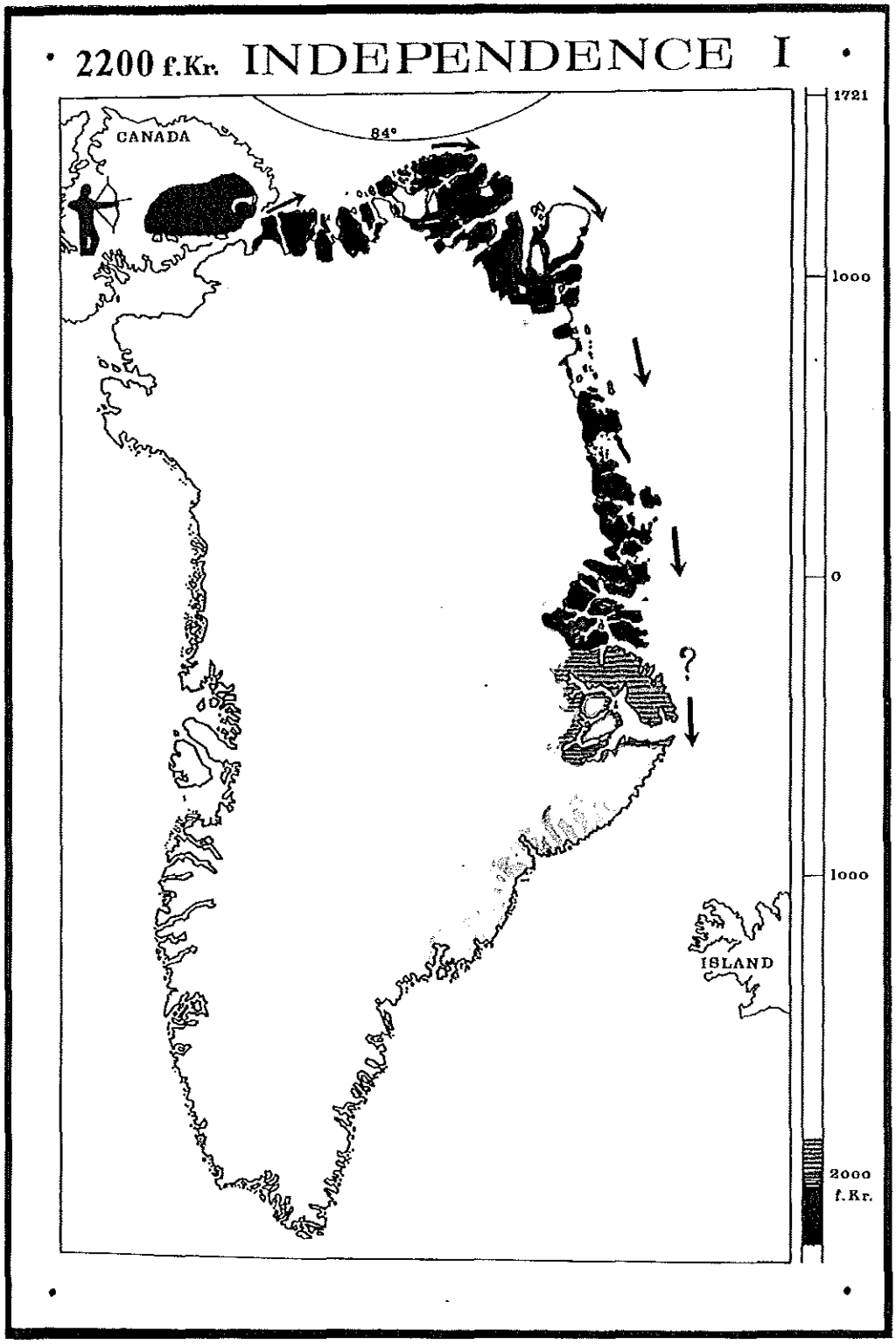
The encounter with the European whalers who trafficked the coast from the end of the 17th century left a deeper impression on the Eskimo culture. They introduced guns, iron and timber, tobacco and bottled alcohol; important goods that are clearly traceable in the archaeological finds.

The overall picture shows in West Greenland a hunting culture founded on the Thule Culture, but gradually changing character as the people spread south to warmer areas with more open water. With time sealing from kayak is becoming more important than whale hunting, and in the area south of Hosteinsborg certain cultural elements that belong to the arctic snow and ice, such as the snow house and ice-hunting, become obsolete, and the dog-sledge is getting rare. Still the catch of seal at its breathing holes in the ice and at the ice-edge becomes more important in later periods due to climatic changes. Hence even in southernmost West Greenland the large winter settlements of single-family houses are placed at the ice-covered inner fiords during the cold period in the century before the common houses are built in the skerries of the outer coast around 1650-1700.

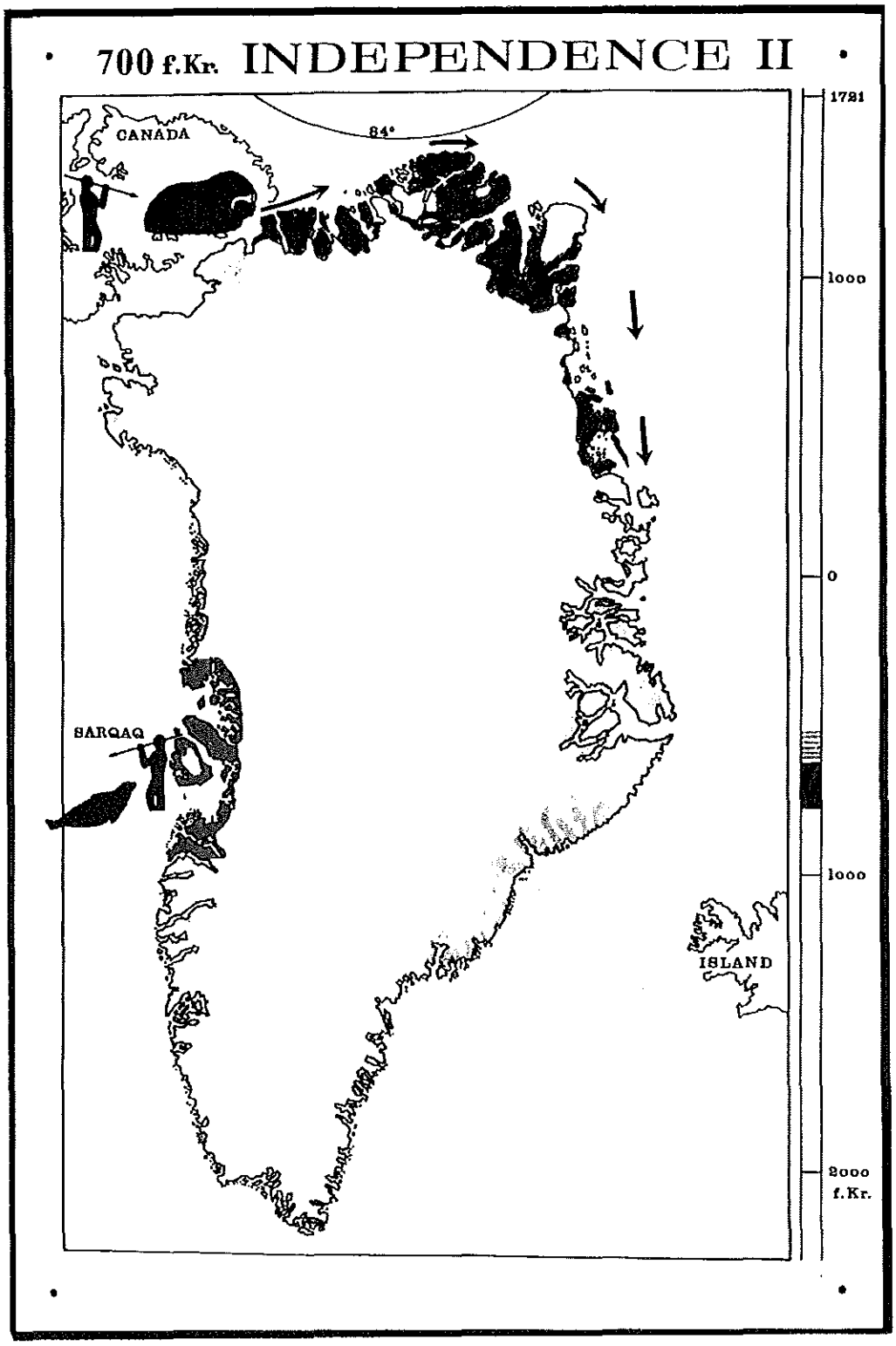
The first great southern dispersal of the Inugsuk people had brought the Eskimos as far as Godthåb as early as the middle of the 14th century, when the Norsemen were still running their farms in the Western Settlement of the inner fiords and the inland valleys. A mediaeval written source gives the situation in a brief report from a priest, Ivar Bårdsøn, at the episcopal residence of the Eastern Settlement. The news from the Western Settlement had been disturbing, and about 1350 he was leading a rescue party. He reported: '... Now the skraelings have got the whole of the Western Settlement; there are horses, cows, and sheep, all gone wild, but no human beings, neither christians nor heathens'. Later a significant record was entered in the Icelandic Yearbooks for 1379: 'The skraelings raided the Greenlanders and killed 18 men and took 2 boys as slaves'. Obviously the Eastern Settlement was now hard pressed. But the Norsemen kept their ground for another century in the vigorous Eastern Settlement - in spite of skraelings, pirates from Europe, climatic deterioration, and the

interruption of regular communication with Iceland, Norway, and Denmark.

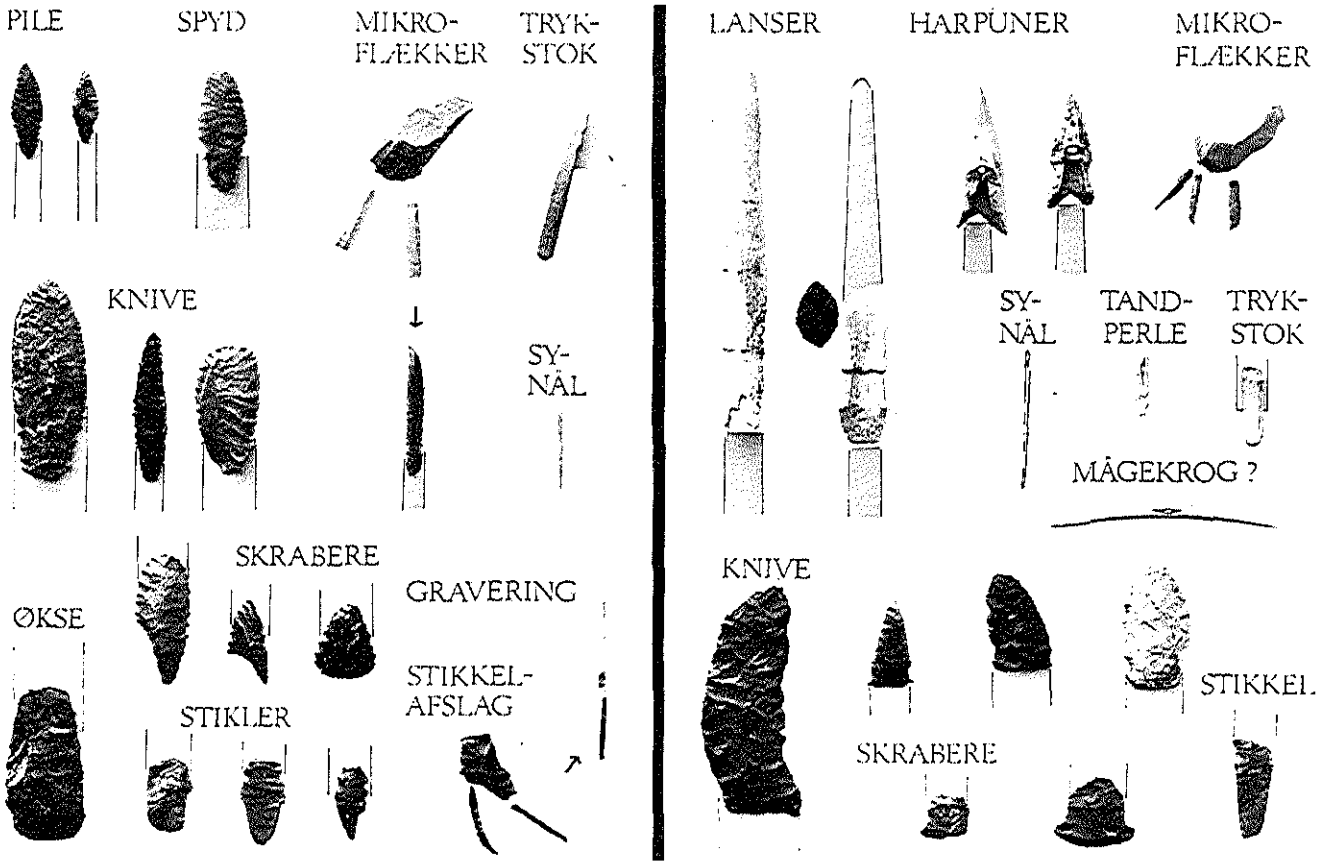
During the 16th century the Eskimos settled at many of the now deserted Norse farms, and simultaneously other groups spread south in the Kap Farvel District, then went north along the eastcoast. In East Greenland they met fellow tribesmen who had gone the other way through the north of Greenland centuries before. The Eskimos had closed their ring around Greenland.



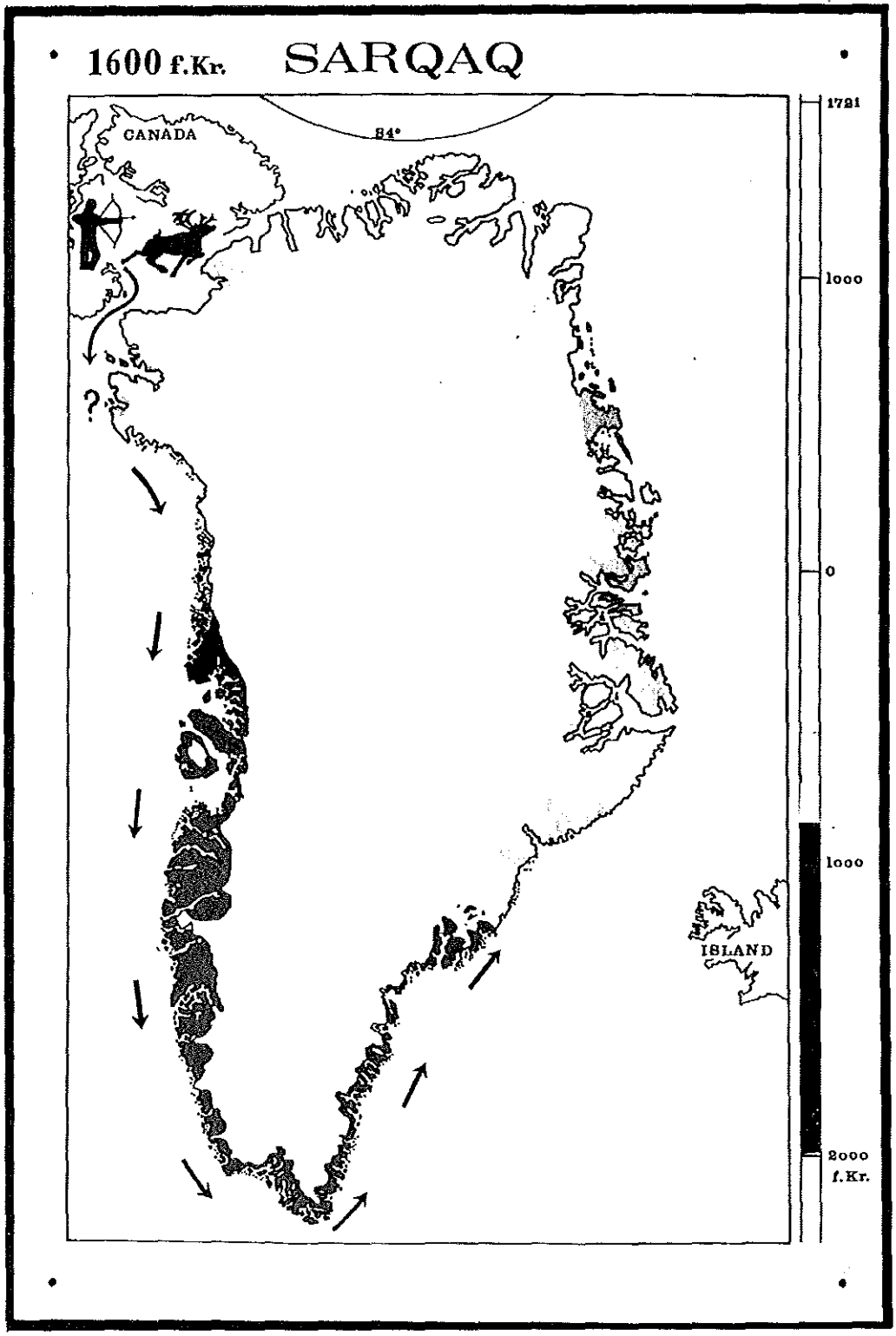
Independence-I culture



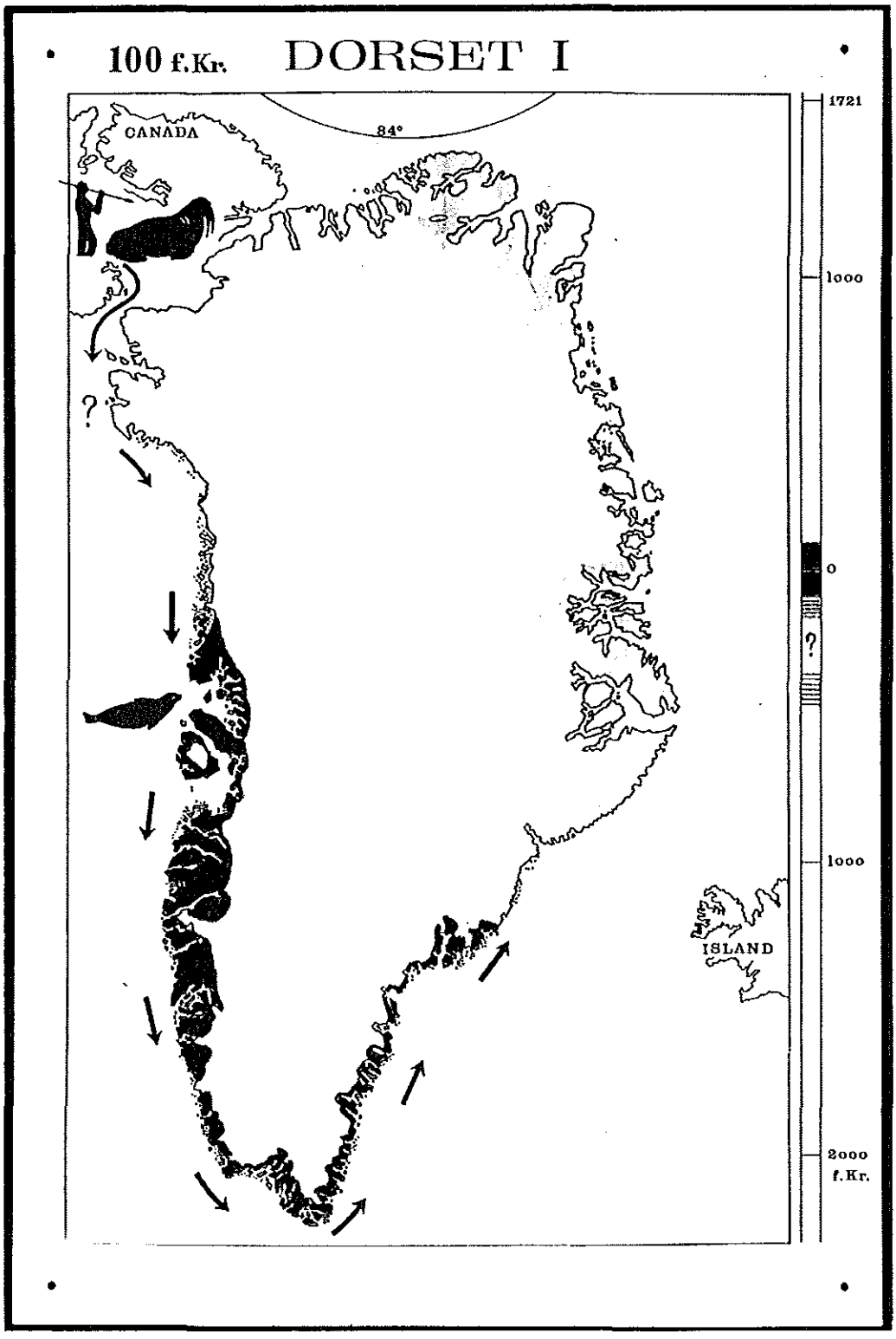
Independence-II culture



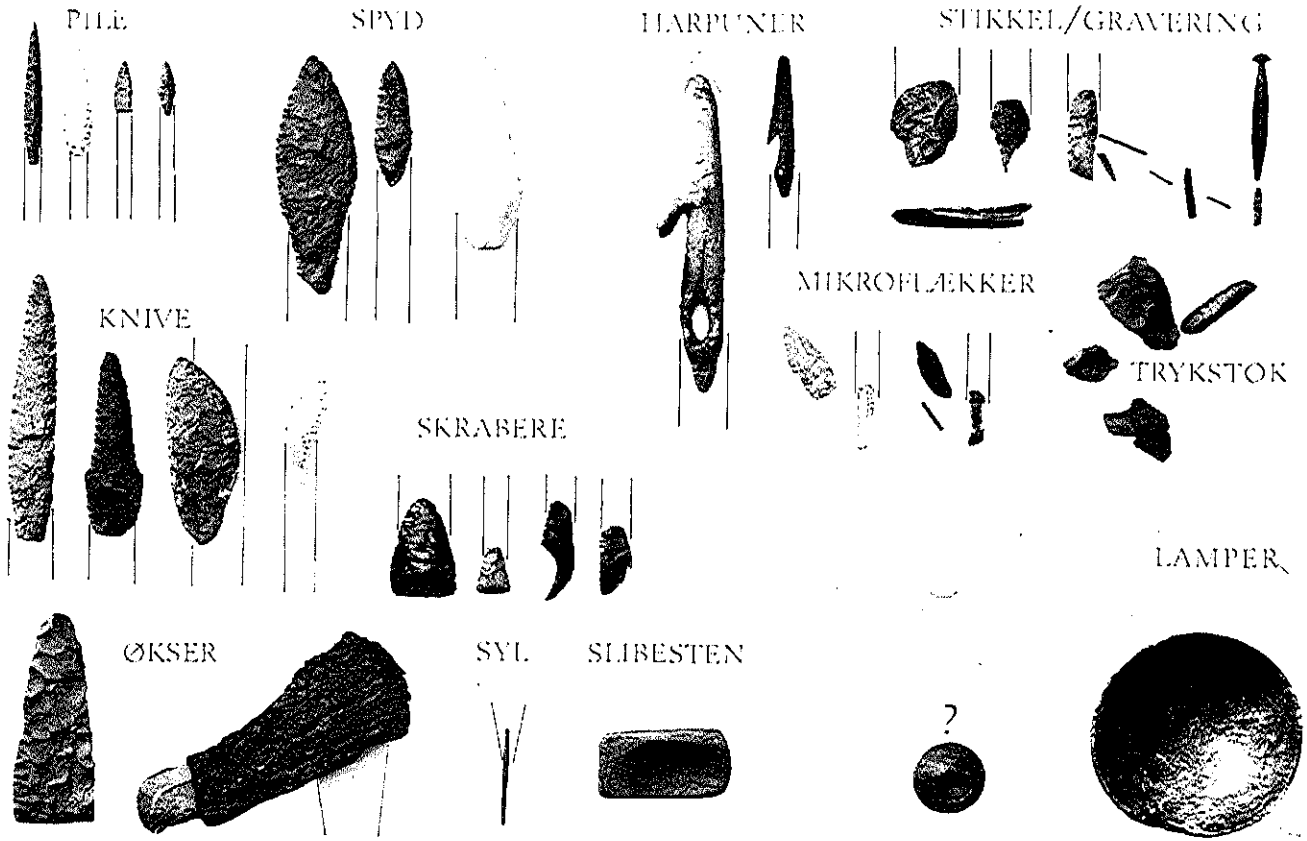
1. *Independence-I culture* (left). *Independence-II* (right). The early cultures of northernmost Greenland from about 2300 ₀C and 800 BC. *I*: Arrows, spear, micro-blades, flint flaker, knives, sewing needle, adze, scrapers, burins, and burin-spalls for engraving. *II*: Lances, harpoons, micro-blades, sewing needle, bead, flint flaker, gull-hook, knives, scrapers, burin.



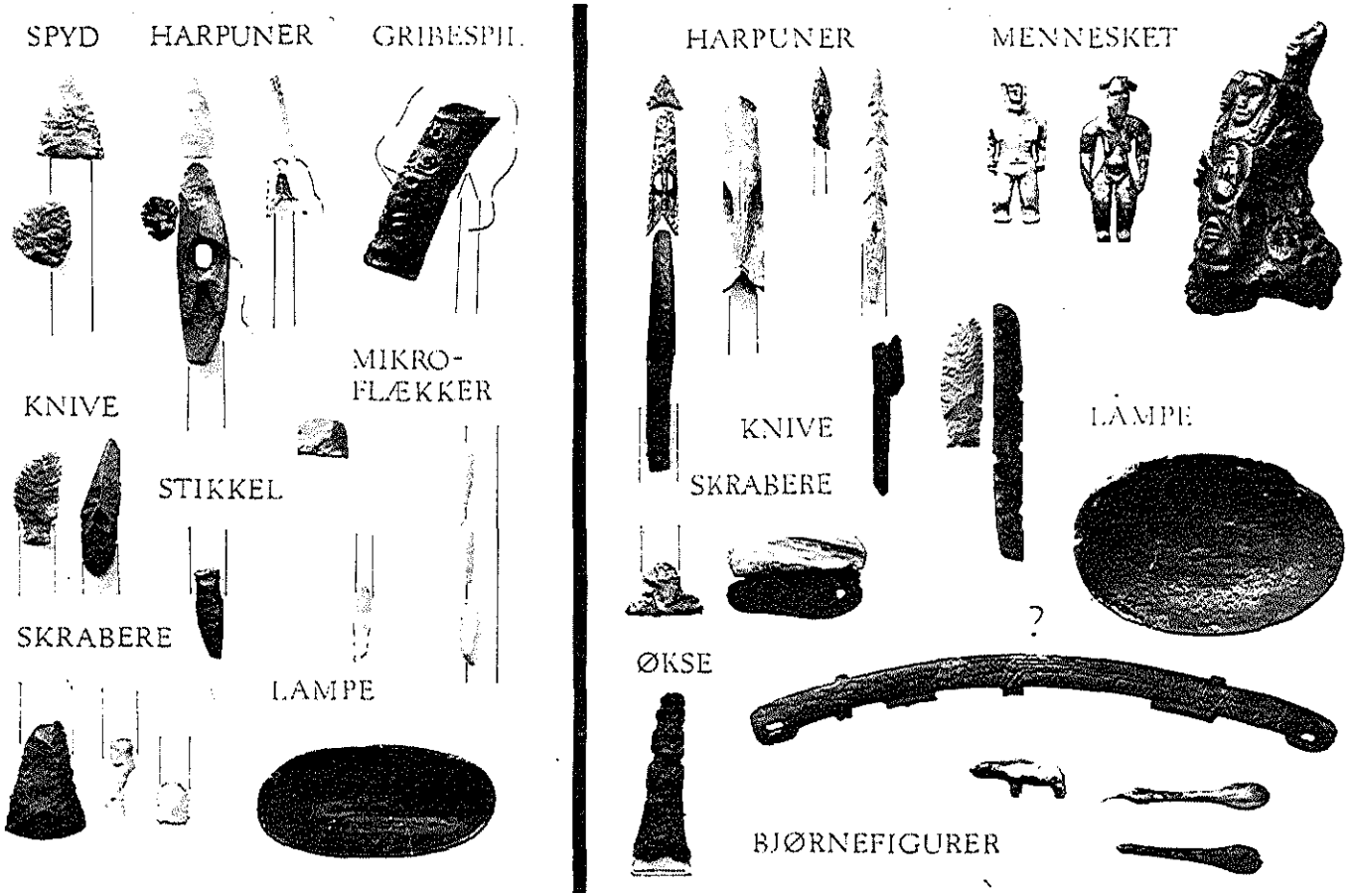
Sarqaq culture



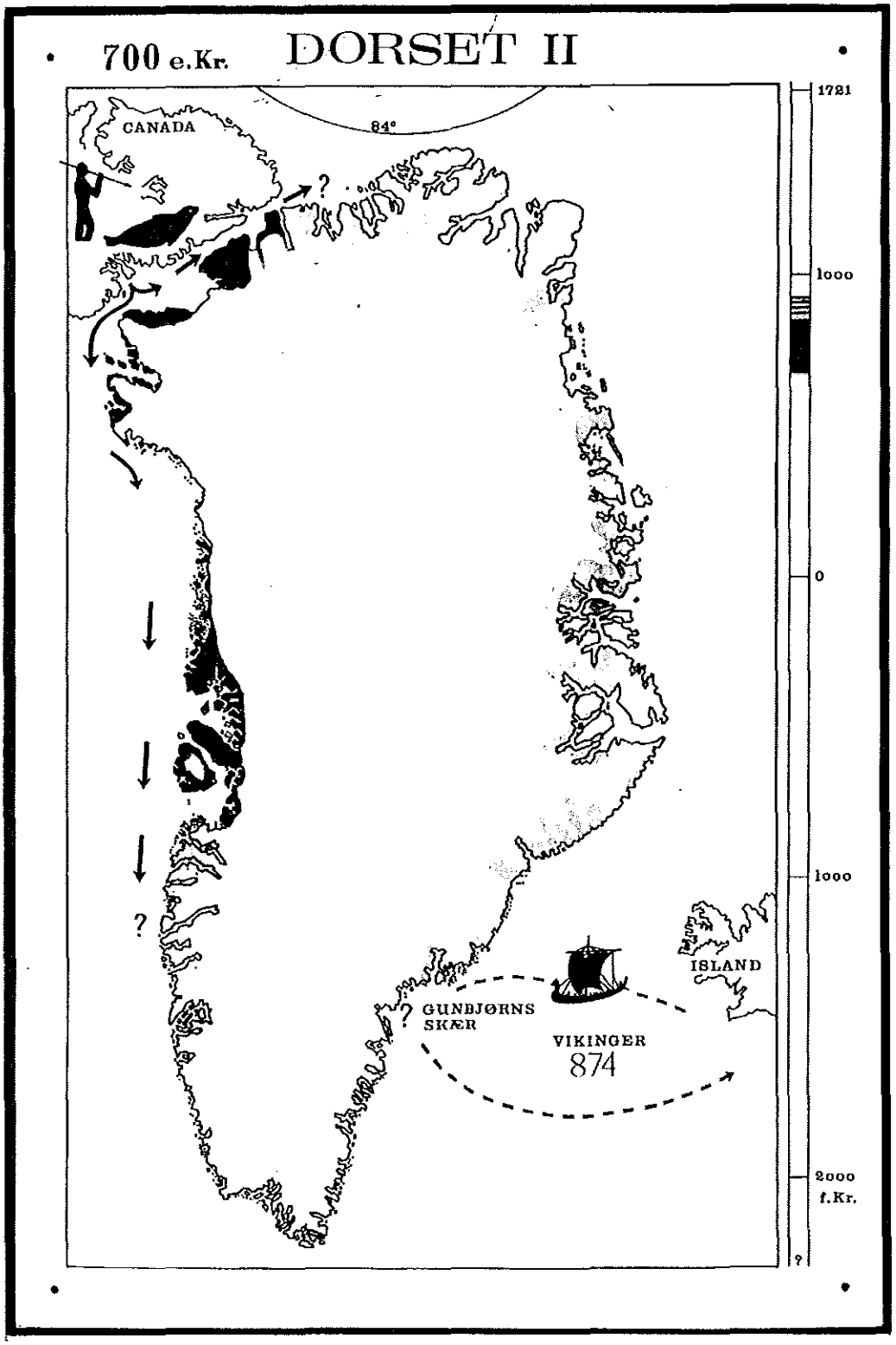
Dorset-I culture



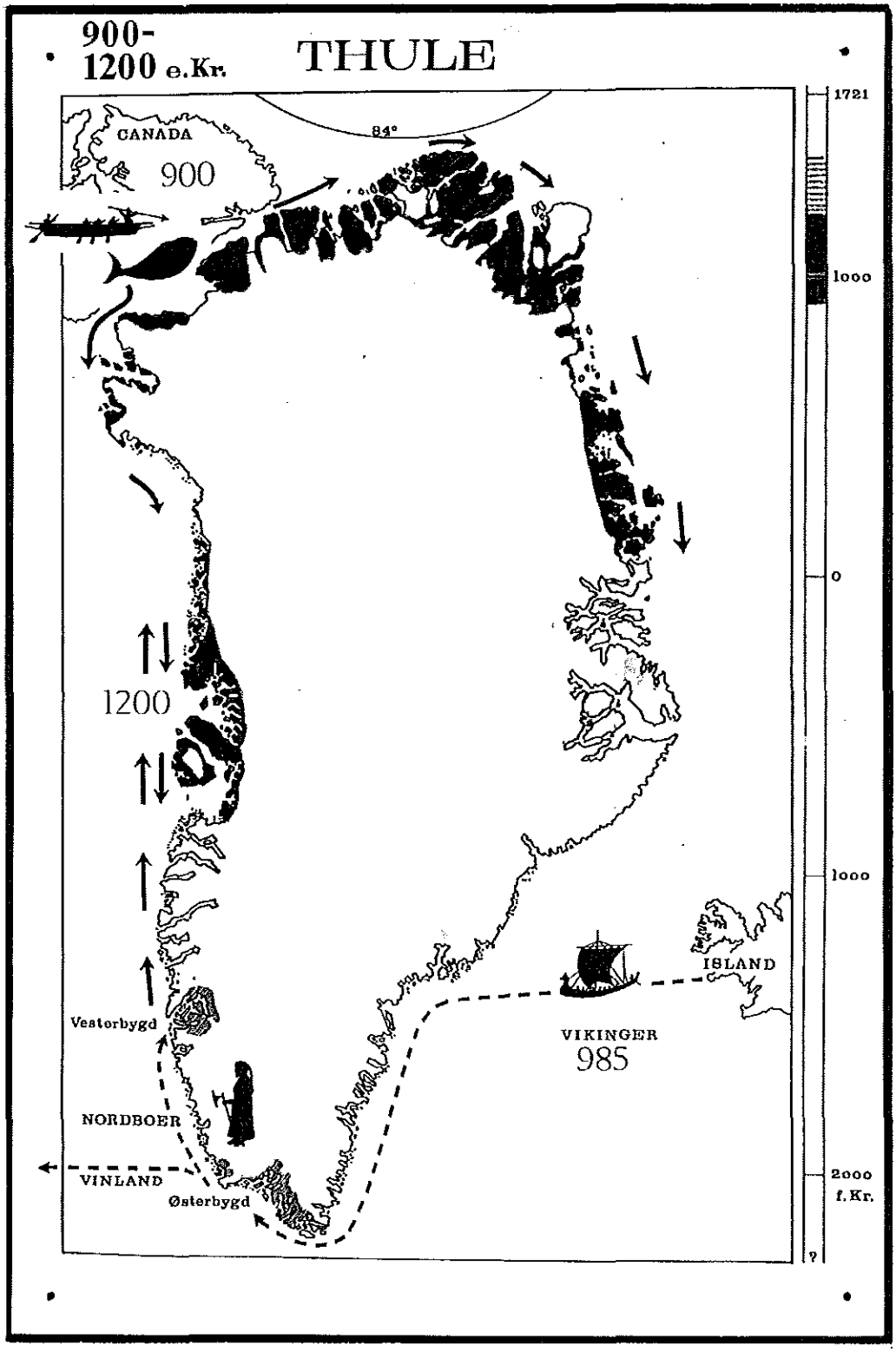
2. *Sarqaq culture.* The first West-Greenlanders of the 2nd millennium BC: Arrows, spears, harpoons, burins for splitting hard materials and burin-spalls for engraving, micro-blades, flint flaker point and flint chips, knives, scrapers, adzes , awl, grinding stone, lamp and possible central wick-stone for lamp.



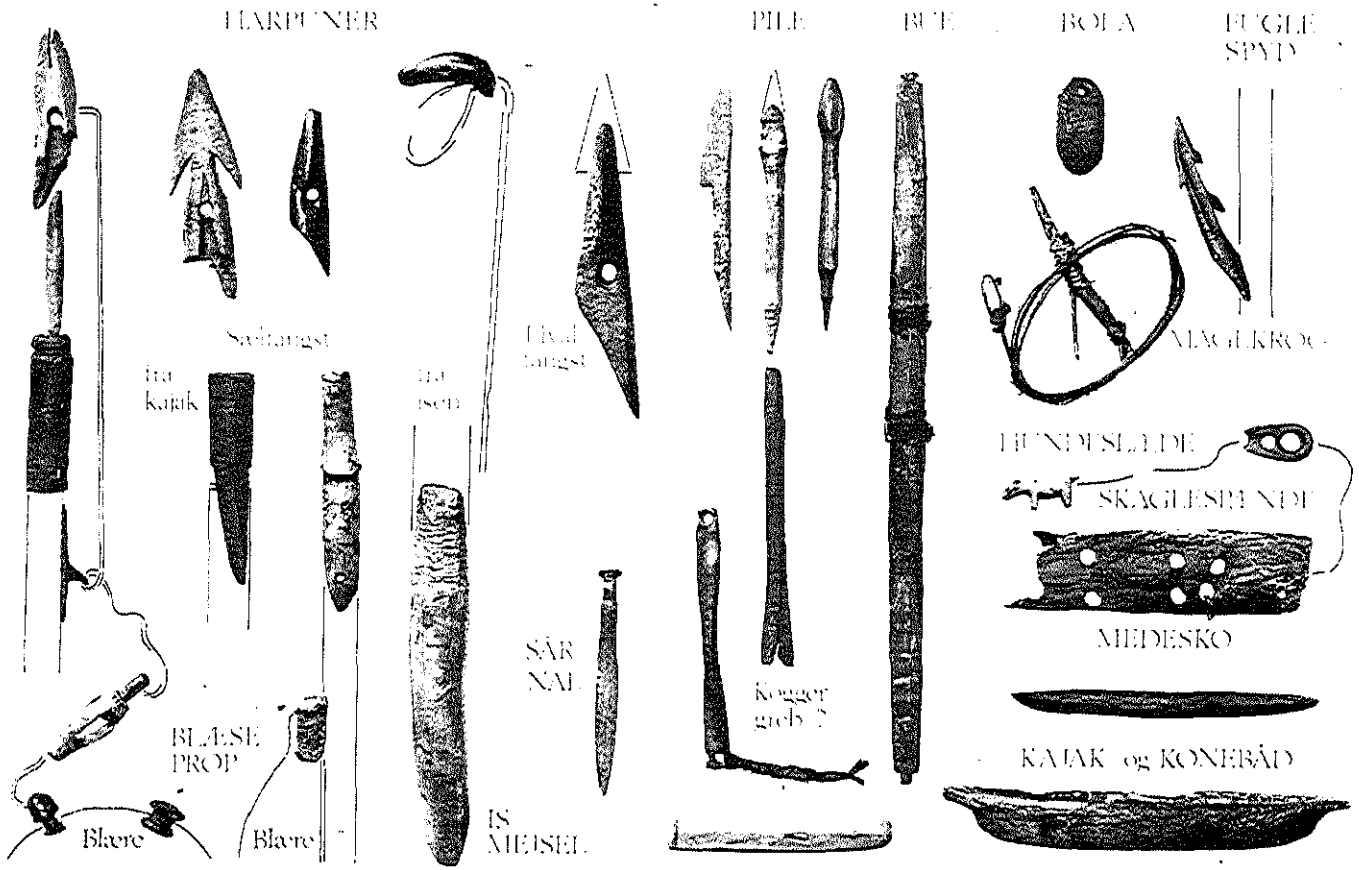
3. *Dorset culture.* The *Dorset-I* of West Greenland from about 500 BC to 200 AD (left): Spear, harpoons, ajagaq, knives, burin, micro-blades, scrapers, lamp. *Dorset-II* of North and North-West Greenland from 700-900 AD (right): Harpoons, human figures, knives, scrapers, lamp, adze, quiver handle (?), bear figures.



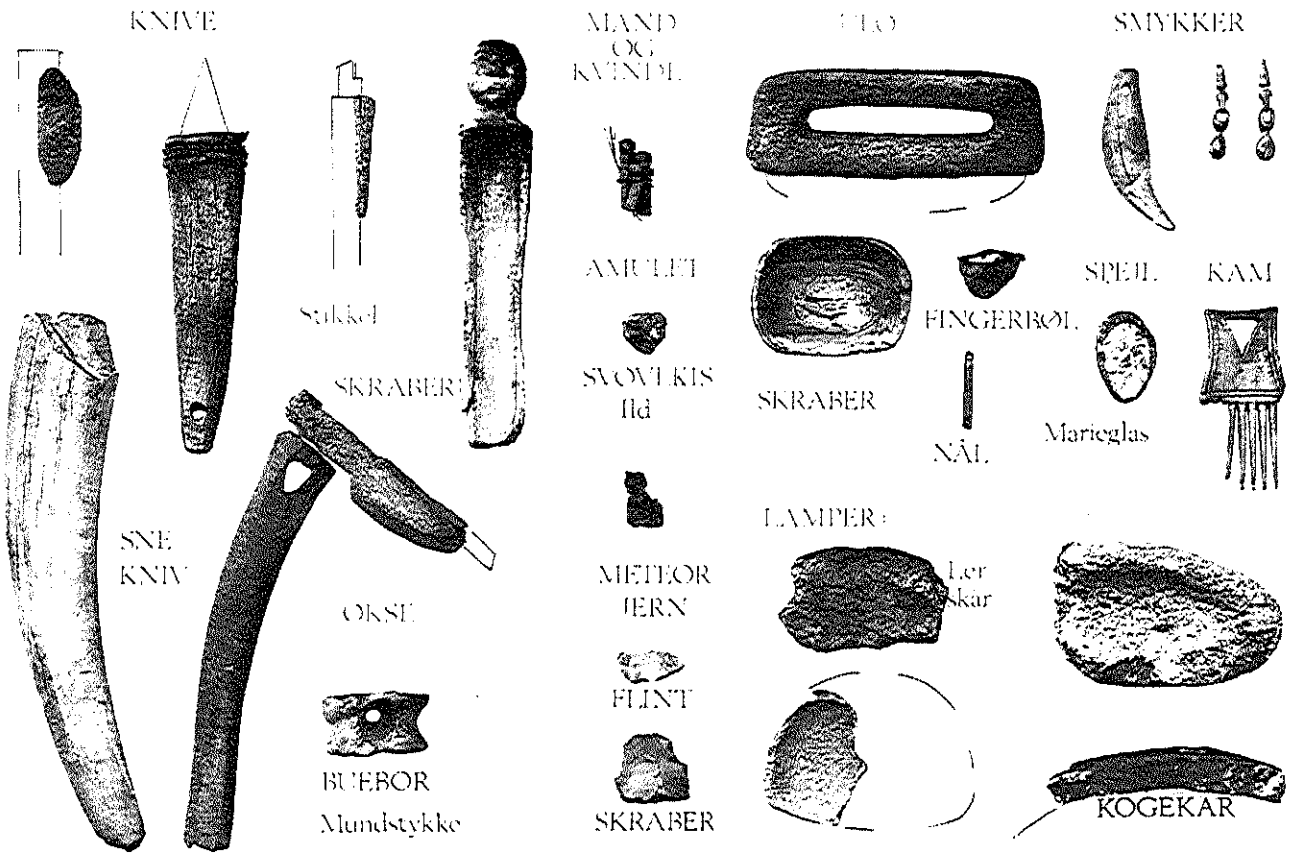
Dorset-II culture



Thule culture



4. *Thule culture*. Artifacts from the early 'Nugdlit Phase' of 900-1000 AD. *Hunting and communication*. Harpoons for taking seals from the kayak and from the ice (left), whaling harpoon and wound needle (center), arrows, bow, quiver-handles, bola-ball, bird-spear, gull-hook, dog-sledge, kayak, umiak.



5. *Thule culture.* Artifacts from the early 'Nugdlit Phase' of 900-1000 AD. *Man's and woman's tools.* Left: Knives, burin, scraper, snow knife, adze, mouthpiece for drill, Center: Amulet, pyrites for making fire, meteoric iron, flint, scraper. Right: Ulo, pendants, scrapers, thimble, needle, 'mirror' of mica, comb, lamps of clay and soap stone, cooking pot.

CONTINUITY AND DISCONTINUITY IN LINGUISTIC CHANGE
A Semiotic Approach to the Inuit Language of West Greenland *)

by

Prof.Dr. A.G.F. van Holk

1. Although the terms 'continuity' and discontinuity' adopted for the theme of this conference do not figure among the ordinary jargon of linguistics[1], it is almost inconceivable that the rapid, and sometimes vehement, socio-cultural changes in the Inuit world of Greenland and the American Subarctic should not be reflected in some part of the language. So we are faced with the need for extending our familiar conception of language in a way that will enable us to handle a problem such as the impact of twentieth-century technology on the linguistic traditions of the Inuit community. It does not suffice for this purpose to point out the incredible capacity of the system for absorbing novel concepts by its own means of derivation, and in this way to ensure the continuity of the system; witness such recent derivations as *aningaussarsiorneK* 'economy', *augtitagssarsiorfik* 'mine', and less recent ones like *issigingnariartarfik* 'theatre', *nalunaerKutaK* 'watch'. What is required for an appropriate treatment of our problem is a way to demonstrate whether the observed discontinuity in the socio-cultural pattern is matched by any boundary in the vocabulary between the layers which contain the socially conditioned internal innovations (such as mentioned above) and the old stock of lexical items.

In this paper I propose to discuss one aspect of this problem, which centers in the process of grammaticalisation of lexical expressions: by this process an existing lexical form, every time it is used in some construction, will have one or more semantic features turned into position markers[2]. The nature of this issue demands a conception of language that may be called semiotic[3], and which starts from the following two premises:

* The investigation preceding this paper was made possible by a grant from the Netherlands Organization for the Advancement of Pure Research (Z.W.O.), for a visit to Jakobshavn (Greenland), March - April 1976. I gladly acknowledge my indebtedness to this organization for its welcome support.

(1) language is essentially a way of acting[4], it is embedded in gesture[5], and its practical use combines with non-verbal activities into a unified pattern of human behaviour (e.g., a nuptial ceremony, a hunting party, a military parade[6]);
(2) the linguistic system and its practical use at any moment in a community determines the manner of exchange and storage of human experience in the community's culture[7].

Thus, using these assumptions about the role of language in culture we will be prepared to look for the causes of grammaticalisation in the interplay of linguistic and behavioral sign functions, such as is found to occur, for example, in the performance of a dramatic text[8], with its simultaneous or alternating use of speech, gestures, facial expression, and other actions.

2. In their programmatic paper on the semiotics of culture Uspenskij and his co-authors venture the view that 'if we regard the collective as a more complexly organised individual, culture may be understood by analogy with the individual mechanism of memory as a certain collective mechanism for the storage and processing of information'[9]. This concept of culture as 'the fixation of past experience' (as the authors put it a little further) may be worked out for our present purpose by distinguishing three major spheres of culture[10] jointly contributing to the process of grammaticalisation as we shall come to understand it in what follows; we will call these

(1) material culture;
(2) social intercourse;
(3) cognition.

Let us consider each of these three spheres of culture in more detail, and with special reference to the linguistic situation of Greenlandic speakers.

2.1. The sphere of material culture is most immediately reflected in any language by the system of 'basic' lexical units, which in Greenlandic is made up for the most part of nominal root morphemes like *nuna* 'land', *igdlo* 'house', *imeK* 'water', *ingneK* 'fire', *sinik* 'bed',

sila 'outside, air', *aput* 'snow', *nano* 'polar bear' *sane* 'side', and so on, and verbal roots or first degree denominative verb stems, such as *autdlarpoK* 'leave', *tikipoK* 'come', *ornigpâ* 'reach', *takuvâ* 'see', *tusarpâ* 'hear', *amuvâ* 'pull out (a boat from the water)', *sâgpoK* 'turn around', *ingípoK* 'sit down', and so on. These lexical units, far from being isolated and incommensurable items of a vocabulary, on the contrary prove to be connected by manyfold conventional syntactic patterns, in particular idioms, and the more loosely knit word groups known as collocations[11]; e.g., *sanivnut ingíniarit* 'sit down beside me' (SL:204), *KutdleK ikitdlugo* 'light the lamp' (Bugge, 1952:92) *nakorsaK angalavoK* 'the physcian is out travelling' (SL:21), *nakorsaK KeKertarssuarme angalavoK* 'the physician is travelling over the island' (A/G:26, 1972:22). Leaving out of account the whole period of linguistic development prior to the rise of denotative function[12](i.e., the emotional-expressive elements like interjections etc.), we can distinghuish in the lexicon two major strata on stylistic grounds:

(1) an inner stratum, which consists of the semantic contents of the oldest lexical material, and manifests itself in the most archaic literary genres of myth and fairy-tale, and in some of their 'modern' successors, like novel, drama, and lyrical poetry;
(2) an outer stratum, whose linguistic material is the product of cognitive interpretation and socialisation (by use in everyday speech) of the primary lexical units, and which manifests itself in a variety of not strictly literary genres, like sermon, chronicle, critical essay, and technical report.

The stylistic conditions which prevail in the inner stratum in general lead to a tightening of the idiomatic and collocational connections between the lexical units, and favour the establishment of thematic unity over large texts. This may be illustrated with a few expressions from the Tale of the Mendacious Hunter (as noted down and discussed by Fink[13]).

K'ASIAGSSAMIK

oKalugtuaK KuianaKissoK imáipoK:
piniartoK K'asiagssamik atilik sagdlutôKaoK.

agdlujumatdlerângame peKutínguane agdlât erdligiungnaerarai.
ilãne Kajartordlune autdlarame, puissimigdlo takúnginame tikingnigssaminut oKalugtuagssaKágilaK. - taimáitumik nunamut ingerdláinarpoK; tássungalo pigame Káine túkarpâ Kissugtai aserorterdlugit, amiale alingnago;
sikuminerpagssuarnigdlo imeramiuk tuaviortorssûvdlune angerdlarpok.
tikingmat kiagungnermitdlo masaKingmat ilaisa aperilerpât: 'K'asiagssak, soKigavit-una?' akivoK: 'iluliarssûp iserKavfigalunga toKorKajakigaminga!' uvdlut ilãne Katsungangmat K'asiagssak âsît Kajartordlune autdlarpoK.
ingerdlatitdlune takuvâ ugssuk Kagssimavdlune sinigtoK. pioramiuk tikípâ.
nâlísagaluaramiuk isumaliulerpoK: atungagssaK ikekartariaKángilaK, itersariardlugo arKarpat malerssúsavara.
ipitíkuvko ikeKartínago pissarriumârpara taimailiorpordlo! kisiánile malerssoraluaramiuk puisse KasúngitsoK Kasugame angilugtordlune angerdláinarpok.

The expressions of this text all elaborate the same theme, with many repetitions and a high degree of habitual fixation of lexical combinations. Among the recurrent patterns of combination, i.e., the constructions[14], quite a few refer to successive phases of the hunting cycle; thus *Kajartordlune autdlarame* 'when he set out in his kayak' (first phase), *puisimigdlo takúnginame* 'because he didn't see a seal' (next phase: sighting the seal), *tuaviortorssûvdlune angerdlarpoK* 'he hurried home' (return phase), and finally *angilugtordlune angerdláinarpoK* 'he came home empty-handed, without a catch' (final phase); cf. *angiluk!* 'bad luck, in vain, I got nothing' (SL:22). So the material culture of the hunting imposes itself on the lexicon, organising the morphemes into a hunting pattern. To determine the precise nature of this pattern we should notice that the simplest form in which we can trace it involves the following elementary constructions:

(1) one construction featuring a verb of action, by which the agent, c.q. the hunter, is connected with its object, c.q. the seal; thus *Kajartordlune autdlarpok* 'he set out in his kayak' belongs here, as

well as *takuvâ ... ugssuk* 'he spotted a barbed seal', and also *angiluk* (see supra);

(2) two identical attitudinal constructions together expressing the attitude of the hunter toward the catch, i.e., his endeavour to get hold of his prey; one construction here expresses the hunter's desire, the other his uncertainty with respect to good or bad luck, or his pride after a successful hunt (cf. *oKalugtuagssaKángilaK* 'he had nothing to tell a story about').

It is interesting to note that the surface structure of the word for 'hunter', which is *piniartoK,* contains the suffix *-niar-* 'striving to obtain', which also figures in the attenuative variety of the imperative, e.g., *ingíniarit* 'please sit down', where it expresses the double attitude of the speaker as the source of the request and of the addressee as the one whose favourable attitude is requested. This complex construction of what may be termed 'goal-directed action' is particularly frequent in those archaic folklore texts about which Uspenskij et al. observe that they exemplify "the essence of culture as memory"[15]. I propose to regard this construction as a folkloristic motif, which in our text enters as one component into the more complex motif of the 'mendacious hunter'[16]. Thus at any rate the literary motifs can be viewed as the organising principles behind the lexical expressions of a language, and through these the cultural pattern of a linguistic community is deeply steeped in its language. This role of the literary motif is of course not confined to 'folkloristic' texts. Thus in the contemporary poem *takusiuk nunarput* by ArKaluk Lynge[17] we are faced with the sarcastic application of the long-standing motif of 'patriotism'[18], the sarcastic attitude being suggested first by the undertitle *takornarianut pilerisârut* 'advertisement to tourists', and culminating in the bitter contrast between *nunavta sermia* 'our country's glacier' and *whisky-me augkiartortoK* 'melted in whisky', reminding one of a well-known advertisement which says: "real ice cap rocks for your favourite drinks"[19]. The literary motifs perform a triple function: first of all they pin down the archetypical situations that arise in the community's cultural life; secondly, they confer a certain degree of semantic unity to the literary text[20]; and in the third place they provide a universal pattern underlying the morphology of individual languages[21]. Thus one finds a great many morphologic categories and their constructions which can be easily traced to some literary motif. Thus the 'possessive'

morpheme contained in the suffix /qar/ of *inoKarpoK* 'there are people around' and *bîleKarpoK* 'he owns a car', the root of *tunivâ* 'he causes her to have it (i.e., he gives it to her)' and the possessive suffix of *nunaga* 'my country', reveal a common underlying construction of the form 'possessor + possessed object'; likewise the curious terminal morpheme /ŋuuq/ which can be attached to any complete verb form with the meaning 'according to what people say', e.g., *tikísimápungôK* 'it is said that they have come', *toKorêrporôK* 'they say that he is already dead' (SL:278), corresponds in part of its function to the Turkish so-called 'perfect of hear-say'[22], and at the same time represents the very common literary motif of the 'people's voice', to be found in all such narratives where a hero comes into conflict with the gossip of a provincial town. Thus we can safely assert that the literary motif ensures the continuity of the linguistic system, though only on the deepest level, consisting of so-called universals.

2.2. The role of the literary motif also extends to the outer stratum (2.1.), although this is built up in a completely different way as compared with the inner stratum. Basically, the outer stratum consists of all those expressions of a language which, instead of being used in their primary evocative function, as in verbal art, have gone through the process of verbalisation (in the speech situation) or of cognitive interpretation. The semantic features of such expressions are not used for their own sake, i.e., to elaborate some literary motif, but rather to point at some portion of reality. This function has been described by Reichling and others according to the formula: a word is capable of referring to something in reality because, and in sofar as, it has a meaning[23]. Examples of texts whose expressions perform a communicative function are chronicles, religious treatises, and law codes (cf. 2.1.). The stylistic pattern common to all such texts appears to be characterised by a combination of two distinct ensembles of linguistic units:

(1) lexical expressions designating the cognitively interpreted concepts of a particular field of human behaviour (religion, scientific research, legislation);
(2) constructions connecting the lexical units and indicating the modalities of these connections (e.g., modal auxiliaries[24]).

As an example we might adduce the Ten Commandments, e.g., *tugdlit nalunaiáissutigísángilatit sagdluvdlutit* 'thou shalt not bear false witness to thy neighbour' (Exodus, 20:16)[25]. Here the lexical units *tugdleK* 'next, neighbour', *sagdluvoK* 'tell a falsehood', and especially *nalunaiaivoK* 'give evidence concerning somebody' (SL:151) are the legal terms, which have been subjected to cognitive interpretation, while the suffix /issaŋŋilaq/ 'you shall not' is the normal modal auxiliary or connective, which is part of the sentence construction and as such draws its origin from the sphere of verbal intercourse[26].

2.3. In accordance with these considerations we describe the verbal component in the sphere of social intercourse as the ensemble of syntactic devices by which words are combined into phrases and clauses within the limits of a single sentence. By comparison, the sphere of cognition (2.1.) will be specified from the linguistic side as the sum total of syntactic devices by which sentences are combined into paragraphs and complete texts; these will include, for example, such words as *taimáitoK* '(and) yet', *kisiáne* 'but, on the other hand', and a suffix like /Kaluwar/ 'otherwise, certainly, it is true (but)'[27]. The linguistic properties associated with the three spheres of culture proposed before very clearly show a hierarchic arrangement of these spheres; the lexical system representing material culture is the most tightly organised, while the other spheres represented by sentence and paragraph (or text) exhibit qualitatively lesser degrees of compactness, in this order. Note, however, that in any complex cultural situation the spheres of material culture and social intercourse occur side by side, so that the material culture will be in immediate contact with the sphere of cognition. This state of affairs will be registered, for instance, if some task is performed, by an individual or group, in relative silence, as on a hunting party, fishing on the ice[28], or during prayer and meditation; a similar situation obtains in the urban milieu of a factory, office, or a technical bureau, where, again, the work is done in silence, often individually, using linguistic messages in written form, and obeying instructions in the form of blue-prints.

Now, whenever material culture and social intercourse occur side by side within one community (as is normally the case) there arises an asymmetric relation between the spheres, by virtue of the fact that the innovations take place in the cognitive sphere where it immediately touches upon the material culture, and after that can only spread in the

direction from lesser to greater intercourse, by which the innovation is divulged (Fig. 1). In linguistic terms this goes to say that the 'idea', or the ideological message, of any text first generates the suprasentential units of the text (of the size of paragraphs and more), and after that is developed into the set of successive sentences with their proper internal structure: otherwise it would be impossible for an author to anticipate the content of later sentences right in the first[29]. The realisation of the text as a set of sentences[30] is matched by a process in the opposite direction: taking the 'source' of a certain text (or ensemble of texts) as the cultural group carrying a certain ideological message, then the divulgation of the text (or ensemble of texts) may result in modelling certain aspects of public opinion, especially in the emotional sector, and this may in turn influence the conception of novel ideas in the cognitive sphere. Thus we obtain the model of a semiotic cycle of conception and propagation of ideas, in which the pivotal role is played by the transitions of the linguistic message from one stylistic state into another.

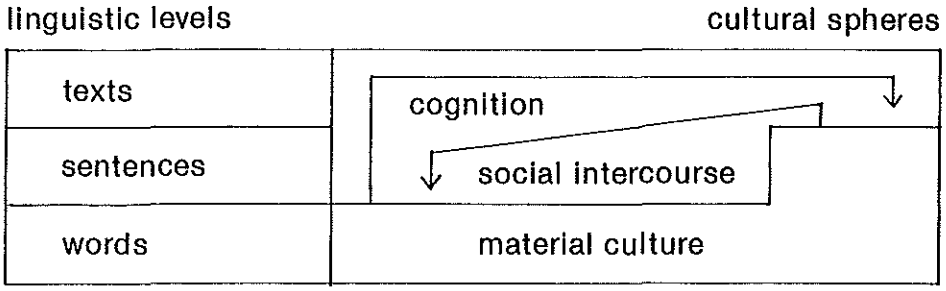


Fig. 1. Semiotic Cycle of Conception and Propagation of Ideas

A special case of the situation shown in Fig. 1 is offered by the urban society, characterised by a particularly steep fall in the sphere of material culture, and an ensuing rapid flow of innovation (Fig. 1) from the centre of prestige toward the cultural periphery. As urban condition of this sort seems to prevail in modern Greenland, especially in the capital Godthåb, where one observes great differences between the welfare state of European brand, represented by a small Danish colony, and the displaced young and old hunters in the rapidly growing mass settlements (sometimes turning into slums). Let us now turn again to the linguistic side of our problem, and see if the linguistic data reflect the socio-cultural situation sketched above in one way or another.

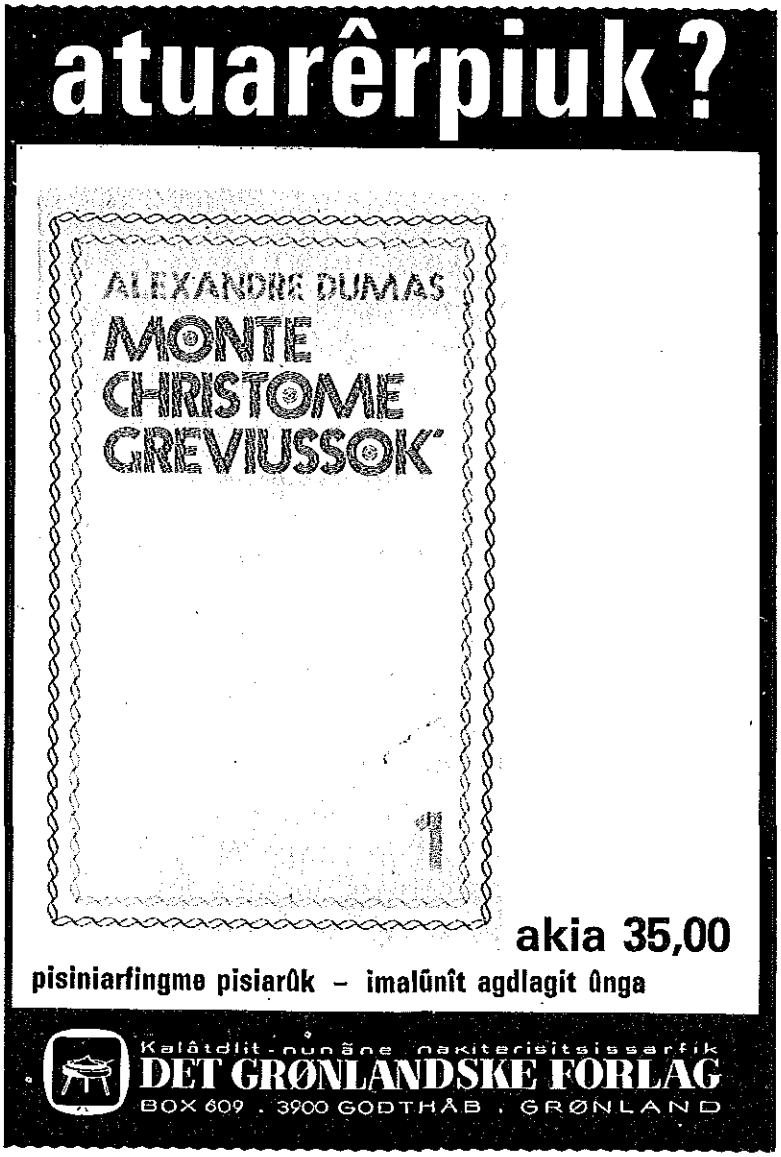
.3. Among the linguistic changes expected to occur under these cultural conditions we propose to single out the process I have called grammaticalisation (section 1). In its ultimate effect this process boils down to a gradual transition of lexical material into grammatical tools (or function words[31]); a well-known example is the semantic shift from the Latin noun *casa* to the preposition *chez* of modern French, and of Latin *homo* to French *on*; cf. WG. *tarraK* 'shadow, shelter, reflection' (SL:238) which in expressions like *KáKángûp tarranîpoK* 'is sheltered by the hill' (SL:238) assumes the role of a prepositional expression 'in the shelter of—', with loss of the replacibility by *tarraK* 'reflection'. So we have to do with a case of redundancy of a semantic feature in a particular syntactic position, by which the position itself is more precisely specified.

Within this process of grammaticalisation we can distinguish two phases: in the first, new lexical material is made available, being disengaged from the stock of existing potential expressions for novel objects of material culture; in the second phase, this new material is divulged among the speaking community by the devices of speech in the dialogue situation. The first phase, in a contemporary setting, will often be ushered in by social procedures like sales promotion and advertising, whereas in older agrarian societies this role is played by the salesman on the market showing his products and persuading the passers-by to purchase them.

A closer inspection of advertisements reveals the following linguistic factors contributing to their semiotic function:

(1) the use of a noun phrase presenting some novel object to the hearer or reader (e.g., the title of a new book, Fig. 2[32]);
(2) the use of a construction featuring a verb of goal-directed action, such as *buy, acquire, take, seize a chance, purchase;*
(3) the dynamic[33] nature of the construction, manifested in this case by forms like the imperative (*pisiarûk* in Fig. 2), often from verbs of motion, and the use of arrows to draw the reader's attention;
(4) the modality of persuasion, characterised by the selection of particular devices like interrogation (directed at the hearer or reader) and superlatives in showing and praising the object on sale.

In the second phase the lexical material made available for discussion by the procedure of advertising, e.g., the lexemes bearing on a new



questioning the addressee: 'Have you already read it?'

calling attention to novel object: 'The Count of Monte Christo'

evaluation of object

persuading the addressee: 'Buy it at the shop or mail your order to the address below'

name of editor

Fig. 2. From A/G, nr. 14 (1976)

kind of dish or the contents of a new book (Fig. 2), is included in the sentence constructions of the everyday dialogue situation. In this process the following two factors may be discerned:

(1) the new lexical unit cedes one or more semantic features to its context, in particular to position markers like prepositions, case suffixes, and transitive verbs;
(2) the finite verb, which is the central node of the sentence, constitutes, together with sentence intonation and evaluative adjectives and sentence adverbs, a complex construction of declarative type, which tends to incorporate one or more features of the lexical units figuring in the sentence (Fig. 3).

The lexical stock from which every utterance draws its material information (Fig. 3) consists of nominal and verbal expressions, which are always built up around a central root morpheme. Each of these lexical units is characterised by its possibilities of combination with all other units in a large ensemble of different constructions; thus the words *KajaK* 'kayak', *puisse* 'seal', and *piniartoK* 'hunter' are interconnected by such constructions as *Kajartordlune puisse piniarsarâ* 'he pursued the seal in his kayak' (SL:190)[34]. Taking into account all the possible texts in a language, the number of these interconnections will run very high, but the really systematic part of this distributional network can always be classed into a denumerably infinite, or even finite set of bundles of interconnections. In the distributional connections between lexemes the paradigmatic aspect thus clearly dominates over the syntagmatic aspects[35], because the lexemes belong to a system existing outside the speech situation. The opposite holds true for the lexemes participating in an utterance (Fig. 3). Under utterance conditions every lexeme may enter distributional connections with any other lexeme in a text, no matter whether or not this connection belongs to the denumerable set of connection classes. The result is that, in the extreme case, the connections will form a non-denumerably infinite set. Such an extreme case is offered by the root morpheme /pi/ 'thing' (found only in derivations), which not only occurs in an incredibly large number of nouns and verbs, but also, through these, in a network of intra- and intersentential relations. Because the derivational pattern is so complex, and often fully obscures the original meaning of /pi/ 'thing', the discrete positional

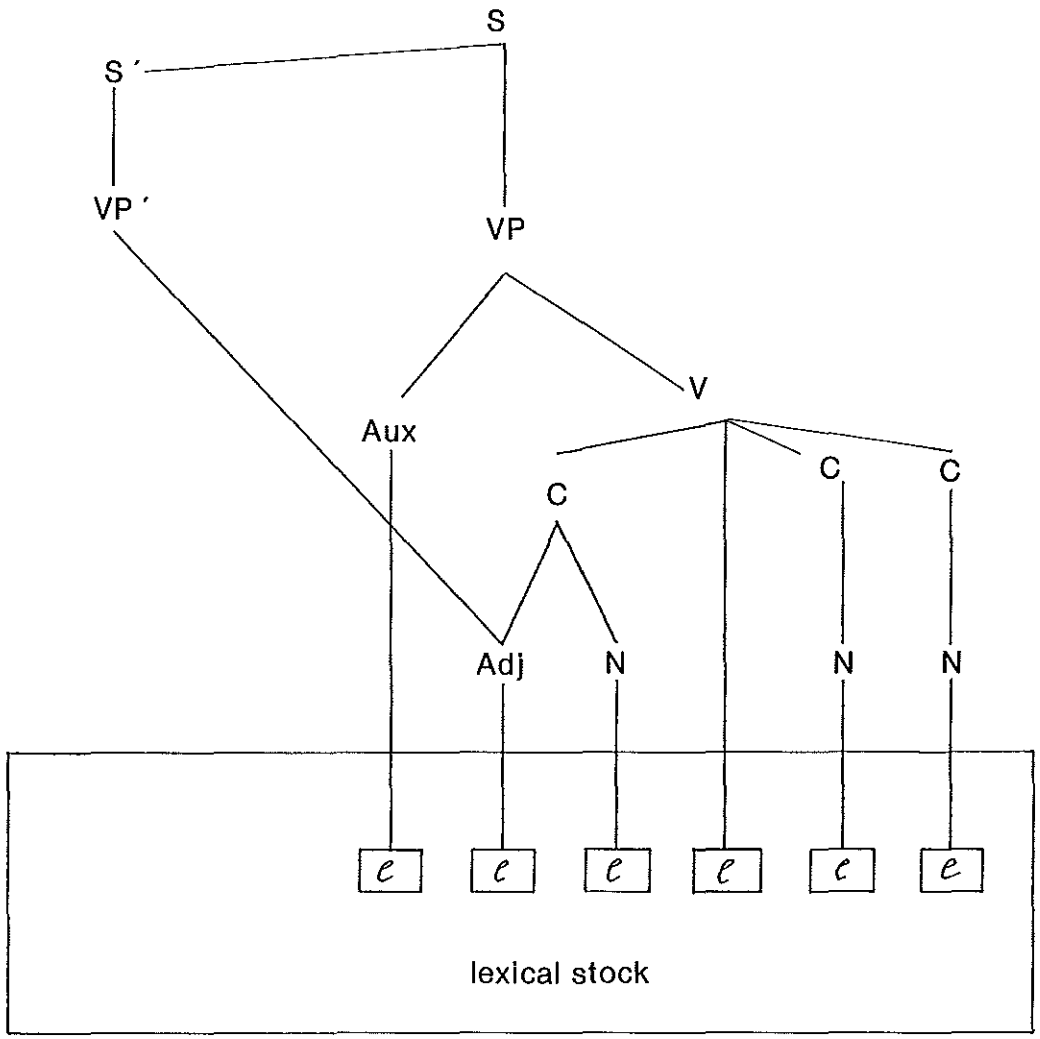


Fig. 3. *The Declarative System*

S = sentence; S´= embedded sentence; VP, VP´= verb phrase;
V = verb; Aux = auxiliary; C = case-suffix and/or preposition;
N = noun; Adj = adjective; ℓ = lexeme.

meanings one registers for the majority of 'concrete' nouns like *agdlo* 'breathing hole', *pautit* 'paddle', *umiaK* 'women's boat', and so on, in the case of /pi/ are entirely wiped out. The distributional network of /pi/ is therefore a continuum.

Now let us see what happens if, in a given community, there appears a new powerful centre of material innovation. Using our model of cultural spheres (2.1., Fig. 1), we expect this to mean a rapid increase in the flow of commodities from the centre of culture towards the periphery. The result for the linguistic state of the community will be that the vocabulary of the technical innovations now reaches an area of the community hitherto untouched. The new layer of technical terminology will thus little by little come to spread over whatever layer used to be dominant in conversation before the change. We can of course distinguish a number of socio-cultural frames for such a change; imagine, for instance, a family conversation at dinner where a young man working at the local shrimp factory will introduce a whole set of technical terms whose exact meaning is obscure to his parents; even if they know what commodities the new lexemes refer to, the older generation still may be unable to capture the greater network of associative connections within which the novel expressions are functioning. To give an idea of the difference between the lexical layers we may throw a look at the following sample passages:

I. From a report on industrialisation[36]:

60-	*-ikut*	*autdlartineráne*	*Kalâtdlit-nunãne*
the sixties		in their beginning	Greenland in the future
aningaussarsiornermut		*túngassutigut*	*ingerdlatsinigssamut*
for the economy		towards	for the politics
inũssutigssarsiutitigut		*túngavigssaK*	*navssârineKásangmat*
industrial future basis			when it was looked for
p'ssusigssamisôrtumik		*aulisarneK*	*unigfigineKarpoK*

naturally fishing is was taken as an abode

'When in the beginning of the sixties it was tried to find an industrial basis for Greenland's future economy, attention quite naturally concentrated on fishing'.

II. From a tale by Pavia Petersen, discussed by Bergsland[37]:

taamaalilluni *pilanniSSamik* *qimatuliniSSamillu*

she behaving thus with future flensing and with future winter stores in depot

piyaqqani *ayuqirsurpai* *ukiyuqaaq*

her pups she taught them winter came strongly

iSSiqaluni *silarlukkayussiqalunilu*

it being very old and it becoming very apt to be bad weather

III. From a children's book by Sigsgaard[38]:

Ullaaralannguuvoq.

It was little by little becoming morning

Palle siniffimmini nikuippoq.

Palle in his bed was getting up

Sineqqinnianngilaq.

he did not want to sleep any longer
..... (follows the story of Palle's adventures)

Palle nillerujussuarpoq - *tassalu iterluni*

Palle was feeling badly cold and then awaking

misigilerpoq *siniffinnguaminilluni*

he noticed his being in his little bed

Sunaaffaana sinnattuinnarimasoq!

so that was it he only having been dreaming

Taava arnaa iserpoq *'Palle-aa susutinuna, sooq qiavit?'*

Then his mother came in Well Palle what is the matter why do you cry

Which are the distinctive marks of these stylistic levels? First of all, then, the lexical material occuring in group I shows the greatest contribution of technical terms like *aningaussarsiorneK* 'economy', *inũssutigssarsiut* "industry' etc., to which the following properties can be ascribed:

(1) a vast number of distributional connections with other lexemes, which fall into a denumerable (indeed finite) number of discrete types (this goes to say that the word has a highly technical meaning);
(2) the paradigmatic aspect of distribution prevails over the syntagmatic aspect (see supra);
(3) the derivational structure tends to become blurred, because the word at issue directly replaces a European original (say, *aningaussarsiorneK* ⟶ *economy*); it carries a heavy load of unmotivated lexical content, and as such differs largely from pure function words.

The stylistic level of the second group is specified by Bergsland as "a simple, emotionally and stylistically very neutral, text ..."[39]. The syntagmatic aspect (see supra) predominates, because the root

morphemes carry little semantic load, and the derivational suffixes with grammatical function (e.g., /araq/,/qaaq/,/luk/,/Kayug/, etc.) accordingly play a prominent part in determining the semantic content of the text. The third group of examples is stylistically and emotionally less 'neutral', because the text is a children's story which is set in a European frame (cars, buses, air planes, a metropolitan decor etc.)[40]. The stylistic structure of group III is also predominantly syntagmatic (for the same reasons). The distinctive mark of the expressions in group III as against the two other groups is the emotional colouring, of a sort to be found in many children's books, and which we might tentatively circumscribe as sentimentalistic[41]; this emotional feature is manifested by devices like the use of diminutive and evaluative suffixes (e.g.,/ralak/'poor, small, a little, gently'[42], which may be repeated a number of times; the suffix (ŋŋuaq/ 'small, with an undertone of tenderness', etc.)[43], whose function extends over the entire sentence (like intonation).

Let me add one final remark. The stylistic layers distinghuished above may develop into some sort of mixed layer with lapse of time; yet for the older generation, and in general if we take a historical point of view, the distinction between the layers I and II is fixed for ever in the collective memory of the speakers as a discontinuity. However, the discontinuity in our case appears to be enhanced by the fact that the technical terms (like *augtitagssarsiorfik*) satisfy 'European' rather than 'Greenlandic' needs; therefore they must be described as 'European' concepts kept separate from the layers of traditionally Greenlandic terminology by a phonetic barrier: this is a layer of expressions designating concepts from outside the familiar culture; clearly, the permeability of this layer to foreign concepts will depend on the difference between the linguistic system of the 'source' and that of the 'borrowing' culture.

NOTES

1. The terms do not occur, for example, in Bloomfield (1933) or Lyons (1969), whereas according to Bolinger (1975:460)"there are seldom clean breaks in language change".
2. I am referring to the dinstinction between lexical and grammatical morphemes as proposed by Bolinger (1975:107-123); extreme examples would be the nominative and accusative suffixes in the subject and object, respectively, of a transitive construction in a language like Russian; cf. Ebeling (1955).
3. The conception, practised in this paper, of language as a semiotic system is most of all based upon the work of Lotman (1970), and the stimulating paper by Uspenskij et al. (1973).
4. Bolinger: 18.
5. Ibid.
6. The general notion of human behaviour as structured according to linguistic principles ultimately goes back to Pike's pioneering work (Pike, 1967).
7. Uspenskij et al.: 1.
8. Many important studies on the theory of drama are to be found in the recent reader by Van Kesteren and Schmidtl (1975); for a linguistic definition of drama see Longacre (1976:186 ff.).
9. Uspenskij et al.: 17.
10. Op. cit.: 1.
11. Bolinger: 99 ff.
12. According to some linguists (cf. Bolinger, 1975; Liebermann, 1975:163 ff.) the rise of denotative function, i.e., of language in the 'modern' sense of the term, is closely tied to the skills of toolmaking. The preceding period of language must have been predominantly emotional (vocal signs of approval or disapproval, warnings, persuasions, and signs used in hunting; Bolinger, op. cit.:315). Another feature of this emotive stage must have been the 'symptomatic' juxtaposition of lexical units to indicate contiguity of objects in space; this must be an archaic trait of language, as it is found in all contemporary families - in the form of 'genitive' constructions; e.g., WG. *igdlup Kalia* 'the roof of the house' beside *angutip igdlua* 'the man's house'. Cf. perhaps also the use of *inua* (litt. 'his man') for the 'pre-animistic' accompaniment of

every object and its living essence (Birket-Smith, 1948:202 ff. esp. 205-6).

13. Finck, 1910:43-46; the passage was read for me on tape and transcribed by Rika Petersen, Jakobshavn, in March 1976. I take this opportunity to acknowledge my indebtedness to his kind help.
14. De Groot, 1964: 57 ff.
15. Uspenskij et al.: 18.
16. A detailed analysis of this motif will be presented in a more elaborate version of this paper.
17. *taigdlat-grønlandske digte*: 59-60.
18. See fn. 16.
19. Weiss, 1973:100.
20. Oulanov, 1966:123.
21. Van Holk, 1975, 1976.
22. Godel, 1945: 121—122.
23. De Groot: 118-119.
24. This idea owes much to an extremely interesting study by Oplatka-Steinlin (1971: 22-23 and passim).
25. *TastamantitoKamik agdlagkat ivdlernartut,* 1:117, Kφbenhavn, 1961.
26. It may be recalled in this connection that the religious and legal notions (not necessarily their names) are often borrowed from other cultures; cf. *vira* 'Wergeld' from Germanic and its use in the Old Russian law code *Russkaja Pravda,* and the nomenclature of the Ten Commandments in Greenlandic.
27. Cf. van Dijk's observations "... intersentential boundary markers are accompanied either by zero-elements or by a partially different set of connectives (*moreover,* initial *however,* etc.)"; Van Dijk, 1972:13.
28. Own observation (Disko Bay, 1976).
29. Thus in Tolstoj's novel *Anna Karenina* the death of the shunter crashed by a train anticipates the heroine's suicide.
30. Van Dijk, 1971: 120, 123; 1972: 145 ff.
31. Bolinger: 117 ff.
32. The nouns most frequently occuring in this function appear to be of a few distinct types: (1) proper names, e.g., *Monte Christome GreviussoK, Carlsberg;* (2) trade names, often loan words, of commodities in the areas of consumption, technical apparel, etc.; (3) numerals, e.g., in the indication of prices; (4) colour names. It seems probable that there is a connection between these

categories and those which according to some linguists often represent 'gaps' in grammar and culture; cf. Hale, 1975.

33. Lyons, 1969: 397—399.
34. Cf. the discussion in 2.1.
35. For these familiar notions see especially Bolinger, 1975: 25-27.
36. Lauritzen, 1973: 23-24.
37. Bergsland: 16; the transcription in Bergsland's.
38. Sigsgaard, 1974: 6, 44.
39. Bergsland: 16.
40. Translated into Greenlandic by Peter Heilmann.
41. The sentimalistic colouring may be due, at least partly, to the presence of certain archetypical constructions underlying these suffixes, in particular the constructions of 'hypocoristic evaluation'.

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SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON A NEW GREENLANDIC ORTHOGRAPHY *)

by

Prof.Dr. Robert Petersen

Historical Background

The first Greenlandic orthography originates from the time before 1750, the year when the Greenlandic-Danish-Latin dictionary by Poul Egede was printed. About 1790 it was replaced by a more detailed orthography, introduced through a Greenlandic-Danish dictionary by Otto Fabricius. Both dictionaries must be regarded as pioneer works. Both of them lack distinction between /k/ and /q/, writing it as *k*, e.g., *ikane, akune, ekaluk* (for *eqaluk*), *akago* (for *aqagu*, 'qaugpat').

None of them had a systematic distinction between long and short sound, and often they tried to mark a short vowel by doubling the succeeding consonant: *Innuk* (*Inuk*).

About 1850 the Moravian missionary Samuel Kleinschmidt formed another orthography. Born in Greenland and having spent his childhood there Kleinschmidt spoke Greenlandic fluently. Gifted with a bright analytic mind he acquired a profound knowledge of the structure of the Greenlandic Inuit language. According to this insight he formed an orthography that was both phonemic (based on the distinctive phonetic elements) and analytic.

It contained five vowels (*'erssiutit'*), *a, i, e, u, and o,* and the following consonants (*'áipersaríssat'*):

	Kardlormiut labial	kigúmiut dental	Kilârmiut velar	nerliigtarmiut uvular
misarKassut, plosive (stop)	p	+ts t	k	K
sordlúkôrtut, nasal	m	n	ng	rng, K-V
nilâlassut erinagdlit voiced fricatives	v	l j	g	r
nilâlassut erinaitsut unvoiced fricatives	+f s	+dl ss	+gg	+rr

\+ always lengthened, V = any vowel

*) Report prepared for the Inuit Language Commission, Canada.

Thus he made a distinction between the velar and the uvular stop. For the uvular he used a Greek 'lower-case' kappa: *K*. Furthermore, he made a distinction between two sibilant phonemes, the dental which he wrote as *s*, and the alveolar which he wrote as *ss*. He made a clear distinction between the short phonemes and the long ones 1) by accents, used above the vowels: ˆ indicates that the vowel below is long (*atâta*); ´ indicates that the immediately succeeding consonant is long (*áka, mána*); and ˜ indicates that both the vowel below and the succeeding consonant are long (*Kĩmalerpok, sũngilaK*), or 2) by using diphtongs and consonant clusters, or a combination of the accents and clusters (*avfa, aningmat, taimáitoK*, etc.).

It is obvious that the orthography made by Kleinschmidt suited the demand of the Greenlandic language about 1850. In the following more than hundred years the pronunciation rules of the Greenlandic words ('*Kalaallisut*') gradually became simpler.

Vowels: diphtongs (*ai, ae, au,* and *ao*) became duplicates of *a: ai* → *aa, ae* → *aa, au* → *aa, ao* → *aa*. The single exception is /ai/ in open final syllables where it is still pronounced as [*ai*] (*Kitornai, peKatai*, etc.).

Consonant clusters became duplicates of the latter, e.g., *gp* → *pp, gs* → *ss, gt* → *tt, vt* → *tt, vn* → *nn, ngn* → *nn, ngm* → *mm*, etc. The exceptions are consonant clusters consisting of *r* + another consonant. There /r/ is kept audible: *arnaK, ersivoK*, etc.

The general simplification of the pronunciation rules in Greenlandic brought about a gap between the spoken and the written words. The written words became more and more complicated than the spoken ones. The original phonemic spelling grew more and more analytic, which means that one has to make analysis of the semantemes, the meaningful elements of the words, in order to be able to write them correctly. Even if most Greenlandic Inuit had a feeling of how to speak correctly, they lost their immediate feeling of how to spell correctly. Increasingly it became necessary to make an analysis of the elements of the words below their surface, and for further distinction one also had to learn a certain amount of grammar.

The Greenlandic schools needed an increasing number of lessons for training the pupils in correct spelling. The excercises in etymology and grammar were not used for better understanding of the structure of the language and the possibilities for varied expressions. They were used for training in correct spelling. Nevertheless, the results were poor.

The number of wrongly spelled words was increasing, while the language of the children grew more and more rigid and was losing its variety. The result was that the very accurate orthography was used with less and less accuracy, and in this way the advantages of the orthography were lost.

The understanding of this fact created a demand for a new orthography, more corresponding to the phonemic structure of Greenlandic today. Several lessons will in this way be obtained for the training of the children in more varied expressions.

The new orthography was prepared by the Committee for linguistic and orthographic questions, under the Greenlandic Land Council. All its members are Inuit, teachers, reporters, etc. The Institute for Eskimology, University of Copenhagen, had a consultative role, and I was appointed adviser in theoretical and practical questions.

Some Theoretical Considerations

The phonemic structure

In the Land Council regulation on the new orthography, ratified May 14th, 1973, the new Greenlandic orthography is characterized as 'phonemically oriented'.

It was the intention to base the new orthography on phonemic principles, i.e., every used letter should be distinctive in such a way as to give it an audible difference from the other phonemes, and any replacement of the used phonemic letter should cause an alteration of the meaning of the word.

This principle was used in establishing the consonants:

	qarlormiut labial	kigummiut dental	qilaarmiut velar	nerlittarmiut uvular
misaqqasut, stops	p +ts	t	k	q
sorlukkoortut, nasal	m	n	ng	rng, q-V
nilaalasut erinallit voiced fricatives	v	l	j g	r
nilaalasut erinaatsut unvoiced fricatives	+f s	+ll	+gg	+rr

+ always lengthened, V = any vowel

Even though in the central part of West Greenland there occur two sibilant phonemes /s/ and /S/, the distinction between the two is dropped, both phonemes being written as *s*. In most dialects only /s/ is used for both of them. For people who do not speak the central West-Greenlandic dialect /S/ is not always predictable. In other cases a grammatical consideration would be necessary to be able to predict /S/ or /s/, and one of the reasons for introducing the new orthography is precisely to avoid grammatical or etymological analysis. In this way the sibilant phonemes are under-differentiated from the standpoint of the central West-Greenlandic dialect. As mentioned before this under-differentiation is already general in most dialects, so that this distinction seems to play no role for the intelligibility of the texts.

With regard to the vowels the phonemic principle is not maintained. This is due to historical factors, the distinction between *i* and *e*, *u* and *o* being superfluous, because *i* and *e*, and *u* and *o* are variants, not separate phonemes. The meaning of a word will not change if one replaces *i* by *e* (and *u* by *o*), e.g., *ini - ine*, and *anu - ano.* In this way there are five vowels in the Greenlandic orthography, even if there are only three vowel phonemes: *a, i,* and *u.* Both *e* and *o* are 'bound variants' of *i* and *u*, and occur only before uvular consonants (e.g., *inuuppoq, inorpoq, ini, inerneq,* etc.). I suppose that the five vowels are the price for getting the proposal carried through in the Land Council, and I suppose that later on the number of vowel letters will be reduced to three: *a, i, u.*

The non-phonemic distinctive elements

a. Intonational stress

Normally the intonational stress plays no role as a distinctive element. In fluent speech it is only audible before pauses, and there it may distinguish between statement and address or question.

In *statement* the intonation shows a certain sequential order, with intonational stress in antepenultimate position, falling intonation at the penult, and a slight rising intonation on the last syllable (*aNIlerpoq, qujamaSUppunga,* etc.). Also in questions containing interrogative adverbials (*qanoq, kina,* etc.) the intonational sequence has the same pattern (*kina oQArami?).* When speaking about 'questions' in the following paragraph I refer to questions without such interrogative adverbials or pronouns, or I refer to 'yes-no'-questions.

In *address and question* the intonational stress is to be found at the penult, and the falling intonation on the last syllable (*aTAAtak! anisSAAnga? tikisSAva?* etc.). I shall speak here only about the cases where homonymy occurs between indicative and interrogative mood (not *iSERputit - iSERpit?,* but *iSIssaanga - isisSAAnga?).* In North-West-Greenlandic the last vowel in address and question is normally lengthened (*oqaramii? tiguvaa-a*?), but not so in South-West-Greenlandic (*oqarami? tiguvaa?).* There the difference between statement and address-question lies in the intonational sequence, when homonymy occurs between indicative and interrogative. In the spoken language we can therefore distinguish between statement and adress-question by the intonational pattern. At this point the South-Greenlandic dialects form the basis of the orhtography. Fortunately the intonational pattern can be seen in the written language from the punctuation marks (question mark, exclamatory mark). Thus the difference is predictable also in the written language, and we do not need diacritics for this purpose.

b. Phonological length

The difference between the short and long sounds - both vowels and consonants - is distinctive.

We suppose that any lengthened sound is composed of more than one phonemic element, even if we cannot always trace the original separate elements.

Long vowels originate from assimilation of two or more like vowels: *appa + -araq → appaaraq; pinni + -itsoq → pinniitsoq; siku + -uvoq → sikuuvoq; angisuu + -uvoq → angisuuvoq.* Thus three like vowels do not result in more lengthening than two ones.

In Greenlandic of today long /aa/ also originates from original diphtongs: *ilaisa → ilaasa; qaersoq → qaarsoq; kautaq → kaataq; paorpoq → paarpoq*; the above-mentioned exception is *ilai → ilai,* i.e., *-ai* in final open syllable.

Also long consonants originate from two or more like phonemic elements and those originating from more than two like phonemic elements have no further length than those that originate from two elements.

Also long conconants can stem from two like consonants: *illit + -taaq → illittaaq.*

But very often a long consonant in Greenlandic of today is the result

of an assimilation in consonant clusters of different consonants, where the former may be *g, ng, t* or *v.* As a result of the assimilation process the first of them disappears as a separate phonemic element, but the latter becomes long. In this way the disappeared sound is only changed to a lengthening element (e.g., *agpa → appa; ivsaq → issaq; tikit- + -poq → tikippoq; tiking- + -mat → tikimmat).* This alteration actually occurs in the spoken language.

As a special case we have the combination of *r* + another consonant. In such a consonant cluster /r/ is in fact a 'colour' of the preceding vowel, and in this way it is still audible, while the second consonant in this case is lengthened. As the consonant in this position is always lengthened, there is no opposition after /r/ between long and short consonants; as /r/ itself indicates that the succeeding consonant is long there is no need for a special mark of length in this position. Therefore we write: *iserpunga* (phonetical: *iserppunga*), *ajortoq* (phonetical: *ajorttoq*), *ersilerpoq* (phonetical: *erssilerppoq*), etc.

In several cases the lengthening of a consonant is accompanied by alteration of articulation conditions. It may happen as a result of assimilation, or other causes for lengthening, esp. metathesis and ellipsis:

assimilation: *kingug-leq → kingulleq; kamak-voq → kamappoq.*
metathesis: *aleq-it → arlit; kangeq-liarpoq → kanngiarpoq.*
ellipsis: *sanik-it → sanikt → sanngit; tupeq-it → tupqit → toqqit.*

This means that the traces of the original composition of the words in Greenlandic is increasingly replaced by phonological length, and the phonological length has really in this way increasing importance. I suppose that the phonological length is not so significant in dialects where diphtongs and consonant clusters still play a distinctive role as in Canadian Inuit dialects. But if the consonant clusters are composed in such a way that 1) both of them are audible, and 2) the last consonant at the same time is lengthened, the question will arise whether it is necessary to mark one of the two sequences.

Thus in Greenlandic we observe a phonological development where unlike sounds according to certain rules form a long specimen of one of them. Diphtongs form a long /aa/, consonant clusters form a long duplicate of the last consonant, without making it difficult to understand the expressions. In this way a number of homonyms occur, as *qulleq* 'uppermost', *qulleq* 'lamp', and *qulleq* 'tear', without resulting in any misunderstanding.

The reason why it is possible to understand the spoken language is that the context in an utterance normally excludes other possibilities of interpretation.

In every sentence several expressions or expression elements support each other so that the corresponding elements in fact may repeat the same meaning or the same combination several times. Already in an isolated expression such as *'ataatama isumaa malippara'* there are a couple of elements supporting each other, e.g., *ataatamA* and *isumaA* presuppose each other and in the same way *isumaA* and *malipPAra* presuppose each other. The repeated expression of this relation is called 'redundance'. In an analytic way we may find other redundant elements, e.g., that *malik* will demand *-ppa-* after *ataatama isumaa,* and that *-ra* also demands *-ppa-*; further *-para* demands that /p/ is long (*-ppa-'),* etc.

Redundance may mean that it is possible to do without one or more of such elements, keeping only the most significant. For instance, it is due to redundance that syllabic writing is possible at all, without distinction between /k/ and /q/, without consistent marking of syllable-final consonant, and without really established marking of phonological length.

In linguistics the term 'economy' is used especially in connection with change, aiming at the maximum of expression with a minimum of energy. The Greenlandic change from diphtong to long /aa/, and from consonant cluster to long duplicate of the second consonant are examples of such economy.

In fact the economy has the effect of allowing change where efficiency is gained, while preventing change where this is not the case. On the other hand, the economy principle must prevent changes by which significant elements are lost.

In the written language the economy has also other dimensions. The written language must be easy to learn, easy to write, and easy to read.

In this connection it was pointed out in Greenland that the length of the words may make it difficult to learn to read books. We tried to investigate this question, and we realized that the considerable length of some words makes it difficult to learn to read fluently in the beginning, but presents no problem when the children have learnt to read fluently. In fact they read texts with long words more rapidly than texts without long words, probably due to fewer pauses.

It was proposed in Greenland to keep the accents for marking syllable length in order to avoid further increase in size of the words. But due to the composition of the words it is impossible to avoid long word constructions; therefore, the spelling device has practically no effect. At the same time the use of three different accents in Greenlandic, all of them small marks put above vowels, caused quite a lot of disturbances of the reading rythm (by unexpected pauses, by wrong readings, and by repetition of already read syllables), so that we could not recommend the use of accents. The double letters are therefore preferred to accents in Greenlandic.

Dialectological Considerations

In Greenland we were lucky in that the Central-West-Greenlandic dialect was used in books and in the schools, and was recognized as 'official Greenlandic' already before we began to speak about 'democracy'. Now this dialect is known and intelligible in all of Greenland, and in this way the Greenlandic Inuit language (*'Kalaallisut'*) is regarded as one language.

The Greenland Radio has transmissions in Greenlandic for 35-40 hours a week. Central-West-Greenlandic is the main dialect, used in daily radio press, in talks, radio plays, etc. In this way the same dialect is getting better and better known by the whole of the population in different parts of Greenland.

For the Canadian Inuit it is important, if they want a common orthography, to go the other way, viz. try to form an 'official' Inuit language. It is necessary to choose one dialect as 'the Inuit language' in radio and TV, in order to make it known among all the Inuit.

For practical reasons the chosen dialect will also have to be used in setting up the Inuit orthography. Otherwise it may be necessary for both NWT and Eastern Arctic to have an orthography of their own, but if so it would be advisable to use the same writing system, and let only the difference of the main dialects be reflected in the orthography.

Some Practical Considerations

I suppose that this meeting on the Inuit language and orthography is

due to certain expectations about the survival of the Inuit language. The possibility of survival will depend to a large degree on the social conditions in the Inuit area.

It is important, however, that none of the practical conditions should work against survival. It will be wise to take care that the Inuit orthography should not exclude any possible use of English (or French). Not only in writing and printing, but also in typing, touch-typing, telegraph, braille writing, etc., it should be possible to use the Inuit orthography, and even computer processing must be allowed without extra costs.

This may mean that the proposed alphabet must remain within the limits of the Roman alphabet. Any diacritics will decrease the possibility of using the Inuit orthography - we know this from the old Greenlandic orthography. I am afraid that the North-Alaskan Inuit will soon realize that their orthography with diacritics presents severe difficulties in competition with the English language.

In printing it is rather expensive to have special types, the more so if the market is small. Printing of books using special types is naturally limited to a very few printing houses. In the same way it is expensive to buy a typewriter with special types, and such types can only be obtained by replacing other types in the typewriter. Thus in Greenland we had only 'amputated' typewriters. As the location of the special types varies from one typewriter to another, it becomes in fact impossible to develop a Greenlandic touch-typing system.

Therefore, avoid special types and diacritics!

Some Comments on the Common Linguistic Situation

It may seem peculiar that I am mentioning the question of written communication separately from the orthographic question. But what I want to mention is that the communication situation must be considered. IF one thinks of the unification of the Canadian Inuit dialects into one language, one must remember that concurrently with the changing social conditions the linguistic conditions will also change. Inuit living in towns, and maybe occupied with different industries, will change their vocabulary according to the changed requirements. If the Inuit language in such a situation should form a unified language, the communication between the different Inuit areas

must be developed in East-West direction, according to the increase of the communication in South-North direction. In that case common papers with rapid distribution and radio communication may play a very important role. As mentioned before I would find it wise to choose a dialect, intelligible for most Canadian Inuit, and develop it into a main dialect. It will not wipe out the other dialects, but it will be a help in the mutual communication. According to our experiences from Greenland, an interference between the different dialects may occur, but without disturbing the special traits of the dialects.

If your policy will include Inuit communities where hunting or trapping plays a small role or no role at all, you may expect a linguistic development where a great deal of the daily vocabulary in such communities is replaced by a non-hunting vocabulary, because people there have to be able to describe all of their situations in the Inuit language. Perhaps new constructions or many English/French words will occur in such a dialect. But I suppose that the structure of the Inuit language will be preserved. I think that it will be wise in such a case not to maintain too strict a control. A living language has to be developed according to its possibilities.

But in the case of branches of knowledge in which the terminology is significant it may be necessary to construct an international vocabulary to make it possible to discuss all matters in the Inuit language. I believe it may be necessary at least to make such efforts in the legal and political language. It is of less importance whether the chosen words are of Inuit or English origin; the significant point must be to augment the expressive power of the Inuit language.

All these issues may bring about that the structure of the written Inuit language will be somewhat different from that of the spoken language. It is common in a written language, where the writer is not in face-to-face situation with his reader, that the grammatical rules become more strict than in the spoken language. In this way the written language may grow somewhat rigid.

To avoid this I suppose that the Inuit must develop fiction and poetry, so that the poets and the authors may try out new ways of expressing themselves in a written Inuit language.

CONTINUITY AND DISCONTINUITY IN CULTURE
Comparisons between Hunting Communities of Northwestern and Eastern Greenland

by

Gert Nooter

This paper is based on research done between 1965 and 1975 in small hunting communities of Greenland. Most of the settlements have no more than 50 to 60 inhabitants, only two - Augpilaqtoq in the Upernavik district and Tiniteqilâq in the Angmagssalik district - having about 200 (photo 1,2).

A study on continuity and discontinuity in a culture requires some kind of time division permitting comparison of similar but non-synchronous processes of change. For instance, the introduction of Christianity took only 25 years in the Angmagssalik region but as much as 100 years in the Upernavik area. Furthermore, the conversion of East-Greenlanders did not start until all of the people in the northwestern part of the country had been converted.

With respect to the contact between white men and Greenlanders, three phases can be distinguished (Nooter, 1976:1):

1. **The pre-contact phase.** This phase is characterized by the absence of firsthand and continuous contact with whites. Indirect contact did exist, i.e., in the form of Inuit trading contacts: before the period of firsthand and continuous contact started, both the East-Greenlanders and the Inuit of Upernavik had acquired objects and materials imported from Europe. In East Greenland there was an abrupt, and in the Upernavik region a gradual, transition to:

2. **The early contact phase.** For Angmagssalik the date of the beginning of this period is known exactly, since it can be put at the arrival of Gustav Holm's expedition in 1884 or at the establishment of the trading post and missionary post of Angmagssalik in 1894 (Holm, 1914:7). For Upernavik the transition is less clear. It is known with certainty that the Vikings reached this region (Trap, 1970:598; Gad, 1967:68). After they disappeared, Baffin was the first to arrive, i.e., in 1616. Dutch whalers and traders came rather regularly after 1635, and

in 1772 Dalager established a trading post at the present site of Upernavik. The period of incidental contact in the summer gradually changed at the end of the eighteenth century into a period with more intensive contact. This second phase is characterized by contacts connected with trade in pelts and fat and the activities of missionaries. There was, of course, a considerable difference in the articles brought from Europe for trading purposes. The form of European technology to which the East-Greenlanders were introduced was a 100 years more advanced than that to which the people of Upernavik were first exposed. Because the Danes applied a protective policy in Greenland, the intensification of the contact was a rather gradual process. In this early phase the people of both regions lived in a large number of very widely separated small settlements, many of which had fewer than 30 or 40 inhabitants. For both regions the early contact phase came to an abrupt end when the Second World War started.

3. **The modern contact phase.** The coming of American bases and the resulting contact with America during the Second World War led to great changes in Greenland. After 1945 the Danes did not return to their protective policy, and the processes of change accelerated. Since the Fifties attempts have been made to replace part of the hunting economy by fishery and fish-processing industries in suitable areas. These developments did not occur in the 'real' hunting regions such as Upernavik and Angmagssalik, but nevertheless affected them within a short time. An intensive house-construction program took the last Greenlanders out of their large stone houses; education and medical care improved, partly with the use of Danish personnel. Import from Europe by the Danish K.G.H. (Royal Greenland Trade Department) has increased greatly in recent years, and the stores in the main settlements of both districts have a large stock of articles currently sold in Europe too. New forms of social organization and social control are gradually being introduced by the Danes (for historical and more modern developments, see Gad, 1967, 1969; Jenness, 1967; Osrunn, 1973). An increasing number of Greenlanders are now doing paid work for Danish organizations.

Under continuity is understood the occurrence of a culture element (whether material or non-material in nature) in both the pre-contact phase and the present culture. For the investigation of continuity three

criteria are applied in the evaluation of objects belonging to the material culture: the material of which they are made, the form, and the function they serve (Nooter, 1971: 168, 169). It is of course impossible to treat the phenomena of continuity and discontinuity exhaustively here, and I shall limit myself to a number of illustrative cases (photo 3).

The determination of continuity in a culture requires adequate knowledge of the so-called zero point in the culture contact, and is therefore a futile undertaking for most parts of the world, because so little is known about the first phase of contact and no objects from the material culture from that time are available (Malinowski, 1958:29). For Angmagssalik, however, we have at our disposal excellent documentation and a collection of objects from the zero point, due to the work of Holm and Thalbitzer (Thalbitzer, 1914). The equivalent is not available for the Upernavik region, but a number of later publications provide, for some cases, an approach to the situation in the pre-contact phase.

The following examples serve to illustrate cases of continuity and discontinuity in the material culture.

1. **Transport.** Two of the three traditional pre-contact means of transport are still in use in both regions, i.e., the kayak and the dog sledge (photo 4). It is true that new materials are used in their construction, for instance nails and nylon, and that the East-Greenlanders have adopted a different type of sledge than they used in the pre-contact phase, but it is still possible to speak of continuity in this connection (Victor, 1975:253). The *umiak* (large skin-covered boat) has, on the contrary, almost completely disappeared, and has been replaced by imported boats made of wood or plastic, often provided with a motor, thus forming an example of discontinuity.

Of the pre-contact elements in the kayak equipment, the knob harpoon and therefore also the line receptacle and the sealskin bladder have survived. On the deck of the East-Greenlandic kayaks we also find wound plugs of bone and wood, breast plugs, and nose pins; these are used to close shot holes and harpoon holes in seals and facilitate the transport of the animals by kayak. The East-Greenlandic kayak is the flattest and shallowest in the world (Scavenius Jensen, 1975:20) (photo 5). In the Upernavik region two types are still in use, one with the bow and stern curving upward and the other a much flatter model (photo 6).

Within the kayak complex, there is a larger number of traditional elements to be found on the East-Greenlandic kayaks than on those of Upernavik. In addition, both the equipment and the kayak itself give the impression of being more carefully made and maintained. This does not mean, however, that the East-Greenlandic hunters take more seals and other marine mammals. The opposite is the case, since the catch figures particularly for the small settlements in the Upernavik region, such as Ivnarssuit, Naujat, and Nutârmuit, are appreciably higher than those of the East-Greenlandic settlements. In both regions one or more rifles are carried on the deck of the kayak. The shotgun has completely replaced the bird dart (Kleivan, 1964:66) and is also frequently used in combination with the harpoon, since seals are wounded by the shot but not killed. The use of rifles of heavier calibre leads to the loss of many seals, particularly in the summer when they are hunted in the water, because the bullet kills them immediately and they sink before the hunters can get to them (Gessain, 1969:69). The kayaks are now also provided with small white cotton camouflage screens, which, like the rifles, are an example of discontinuity.

Besides the change in form of the East-Greenlandic sledge, the material of which the sledge is made has changed in both regions. The lashings are made of nylon fishing line instead of sealskin thongs, and the runners are always shod with metal. The motorized sledge (Skidoo), widely used in Canada and Alaska, is not seen in Angmagssalik or Upernavik, due to the highly variable and treacherous ice conditions prevailing in both regions.

The boats made of wood or plastic are used for fishing but even more so for hunting seal or to transport kayaks and people to places where hunting conditions are good and the kayak is used for sealing. In East Greenland, where the arctic char (Salvelinus, albinus) is taken on a large scale in some areas, the modern boat is used to transport the entire family to the fishing-grounds.

2. **Household objects.** In the modern wooden houses, in which almost all Greenlanders now live (as separate nuclear families), they have surrounded themselves with elements of the European material culture - chairs, tables, beds, stoves, implements, and so on. In many cases the only non-European (traditional) implement still occuring is the two-legged (East Greenland) or one-legged (West Greenland) *ulo*

(woman's knife) (photo 7). In the Angmagssalik region we usually also find a traditionally designed scraping board. In Upernavik the back of a bottled gas stove is usually used for this purpose. Many East-Greenlandic hunters still use the mouthbow drill for precision work, although they have European tools.

3. **Clothing.** Especially in the winter, many garments made of fur are worn. The *kamît* (fur boots) belong to the standard equipment of every hunter. Women and children have much less fur clothing, particularly in East Greenland, where fewer of the men wear sealskin or polar-bear fur trousers than is the case in Upernavik. This difference is due partially to the longer-lasting and lower winter temperatures in Upernavik, which lies 6° further north, and partially to the fact that the East-Greenlanders sell all their polar-bear pelts via the K.G.H. or to private individuals. The festive suits made of sealskin, cotton, and beads are worn mainly by the women of East Greenland. Although these suits are often called traditional, it is of course clear that they could not have existed in the pre-contact phase. In the daily life of the settlements, with the single exception of the *kamît,* only European clothing is worn (fig. 1).

Conclusions: The largest number of material culture elements showing continuity are closely related to the traditional basic subsistence activities like hunting, for instance hunting equipment and clothing worn while hunting. More use is made of fur garments in Upernavik. In Angmagssalik, within the kayak and sledge complex, a larger number of traditional elements is in use.

The following are a few examples of continuity and discontinuity in the non-material culture:

1. **social structure.** The construction of wooden houses designed for a single nuclear family put an end to the form of living especially characteristic for East Greenland, in which a number of members of extended families lived together (photo 1). The importance of the nuclear family has increased since then. At the same time, the introduction of new hunting techniques; such as the use of nets to catch seals and fish, put an end to forms of cooperative hunting

such as were used for taking seals at the breathing holes and for arctic char. (Damas, 1966:47, 48; Hughes, 1965:16, 17; Kleivan, 1964:66; Nooter, 1976:10).

2. **Authority patterns.** Of the traditional forms of leadership, leadership in the field is still important in both regions. This form of leadership is based on the great skill of a hunter in the basic subsistence activities. It is always related to situations in which a number of individuals have a distinct common goal, such as the capture of a narwhal or a polar bear, or the safe return of a group of hunters during a storm or over bad ice. Leadership on the family level, whether nuclear or extended, also continues to function. The leaders in situations of the kind just mentioned are sometimes called *isumataq* 'he who thinks', at least in West Greenland; the term does not occur in the East-Greenlandic dialect. Leadership on the community level is also based on great skill in the basic subsistence activities but is weakly developed, particularly in East Greenland. A year-long study there showed that leadership on the community level often meets defeat in the first phase of the execution of, for instance, a collective plan (Nooter, 1975:42). In Ivnarssuit, a small hunting settlement in the Upernavik region, a plan to pay collectively for electricity for the settlement was, however, sufficiently far advanced in 1975 to make it seem likely that it would be achieved. We may assume that all of these forms of leadership were present in some form or the other in the pre-contact phase, even though the objectives of a community during the pre-contact period would not have included electricity.

New forms of social control and social organization introduced by the Danes during the modern contact phase have not eliminated the traditional forms of leadership. The presence of officially appointed individuals in the settlements, for instance the *Kommunefoged* (dealing with police and municipal matters), the representative of the *Kommunalbestyrelse* (the district council) (photo 8), the manager of the K.G.H. store, and the teacher has, however, affected the already weakly developed form of leadership on the community level.

Apart from the traditional forms of leadership, Danish innovations in the field of social organization have given rise to forms of headship. According to Gibb (1966:89, 1969:213): 'Leadership is not usually an enduring role unless an organization is built up which enables an individual to retain the role after he ceases to be qualified for it. In this

case leadership becomes dominance or mere headship'. When these new forms of social organization were introduced into these regions (first in West Greenland) during the 1950s, the new functions were at first filled by great hunters who also played a role in the pattern of traditional leadership. The same can be said for the officers of associations, e.g., the hunters' and fishermen's association, the social club, the choral society, and the branch of the temperance society. Very soon, however, these functions were occupied by younger men, but still by hunters and not by young people who make their living as wage-earners.

Conclusions: Although the technical equipment has undergone partial change, the basic subsistence activities did not alter during the various contact phases and thus offer an example of continuity. In the hunting communities prestige and status are still determined to a high degree by succes in hunting. Skills in the traditional basis subsistence activities are in both regions a condition for traditional leadership as well as for the new forms of headship.

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Photo 1: Part of the settlement of Tiniteqilâq. Tiniteqilâq means: 'place becoming dry at low tide'. On the foreground the two-room houses built by the Danes after 1960. The stranded ice in the middle shows the situation at low tide.
Tiniteqilâq, August 1967. *Photo by Gert Nooter*

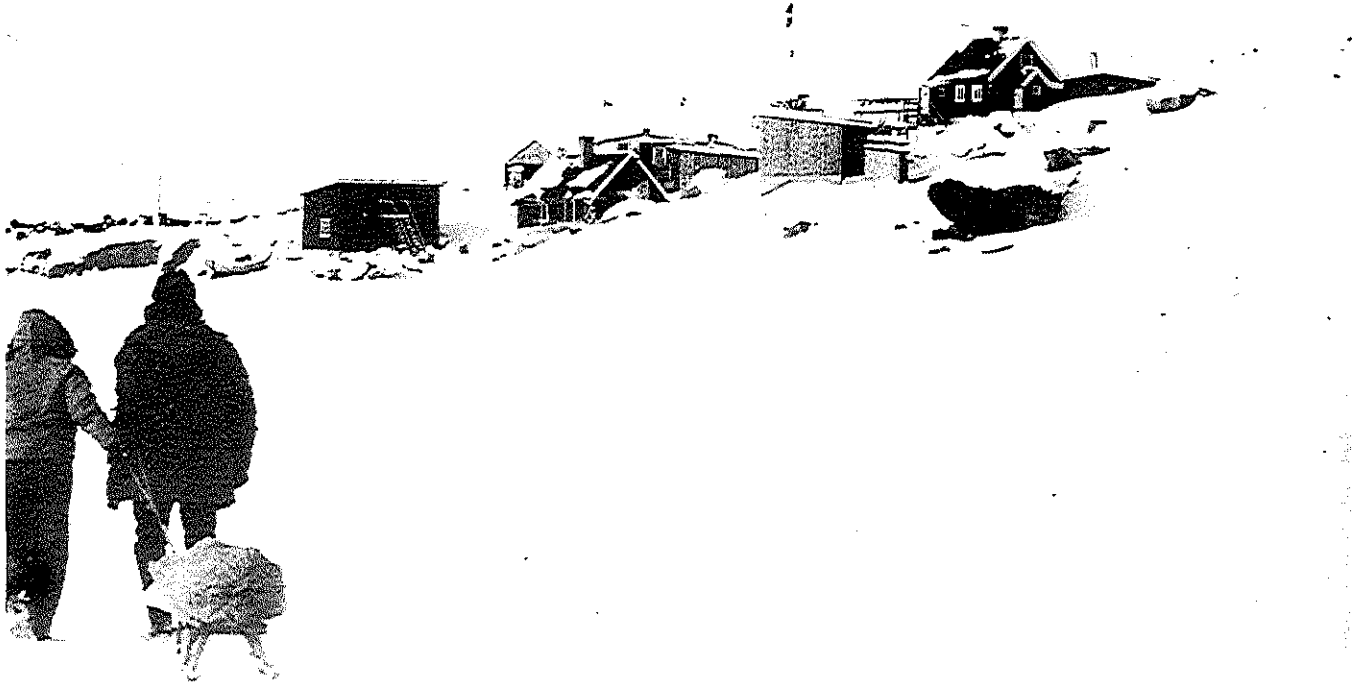

Photo 2: Part of the settlement of Augpilaqtoq. Augpilaqtoq means: 'the red place'.
On the foreground two young people with a load of glacier ice necessary for getting fresh water.
Augpilaqtoq, May 1975. *Photo by Gert Nooter*

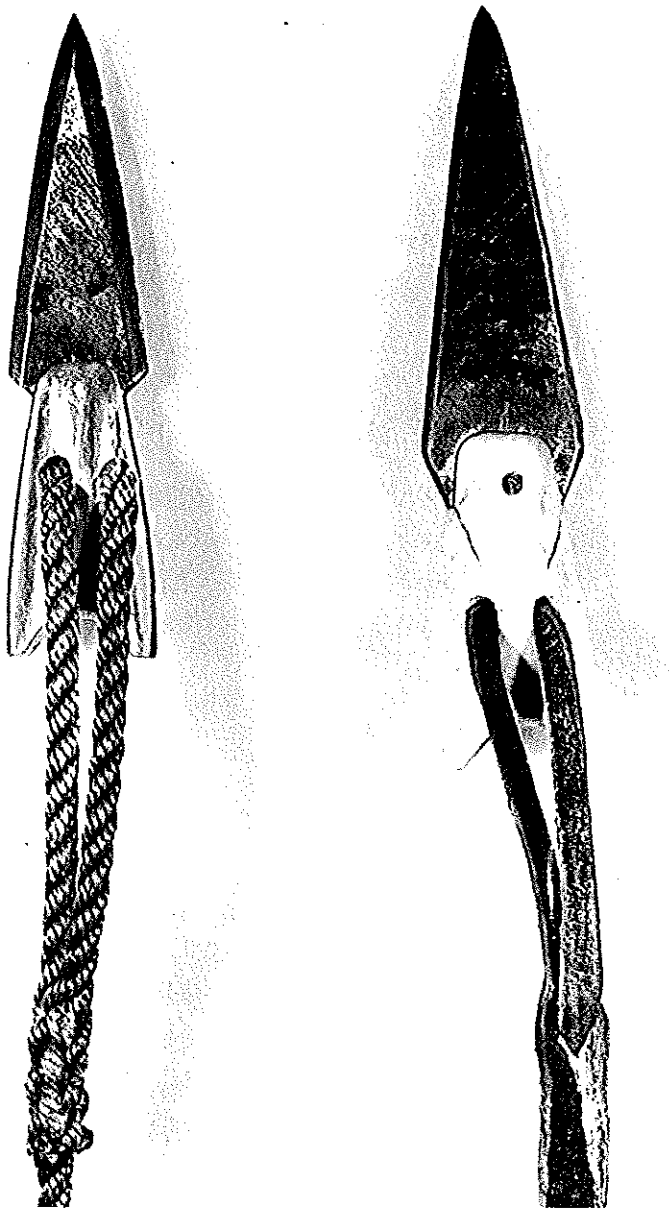

Photo 3: Two harpoon-heads simultaneously in use in Tiniteqilâq in 1973.
left: nr. 4702-66A, National Ethnographic Museum, Leiden, made by Lars Tarkissimat. Material: aluminium, iron, nylon cord.
right: nr. 4702-60A, National Ethnographic Museum, Leiden, made by Harald Boasen. Material: narwhal tooth, iron, bearded sealskin thong. Aluminium became available to the inhabitants of Tiniteqilâq after an Aloette helicopter crashed in the vicinity February 1973. The helicopter was demolished by the hunters before it disappeared through the melting ice.
These two harpoon-heads offer a fine example of change in material but not in form and function.

Photo by I. Brussee.

Photo 4: The modern East-Greenlandic sledge.
Characteristic are the seven 'legs' on which the sledge platform is constructed.
This photo was taken during a short break on a hunting-trip. From the left to the right: Paulus Jonathansen, Noortje Nooter, Harald Boasen, Gaba Christiansen. Tiniteqilâq, May 1968.

Photo by Gert Nooter.

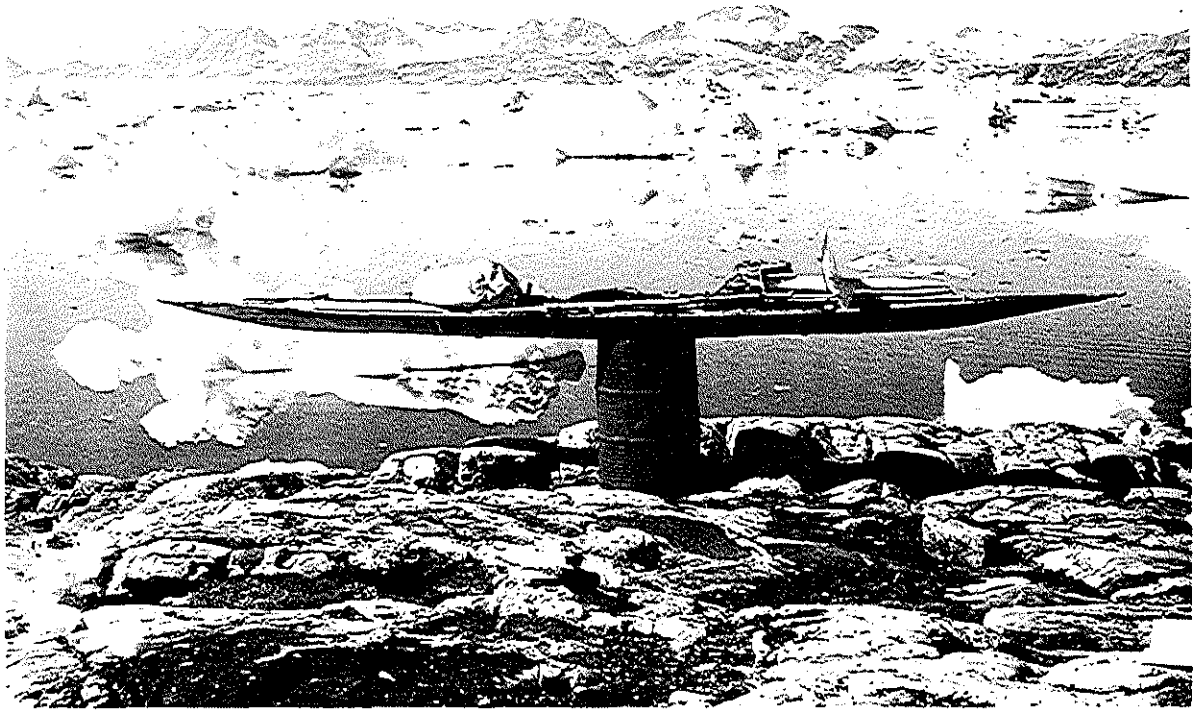

Photo 5: The kayak of Harald Boasen.
Nowadays the hunters of Tiniteqilâq usually put their kayaks on empty oildrums to keep the boats out of reach of the dogs.
All implements mentioned in the article are on the kayak. Tiniteqilâq, July 1965. *Photo by Gert Nooter*

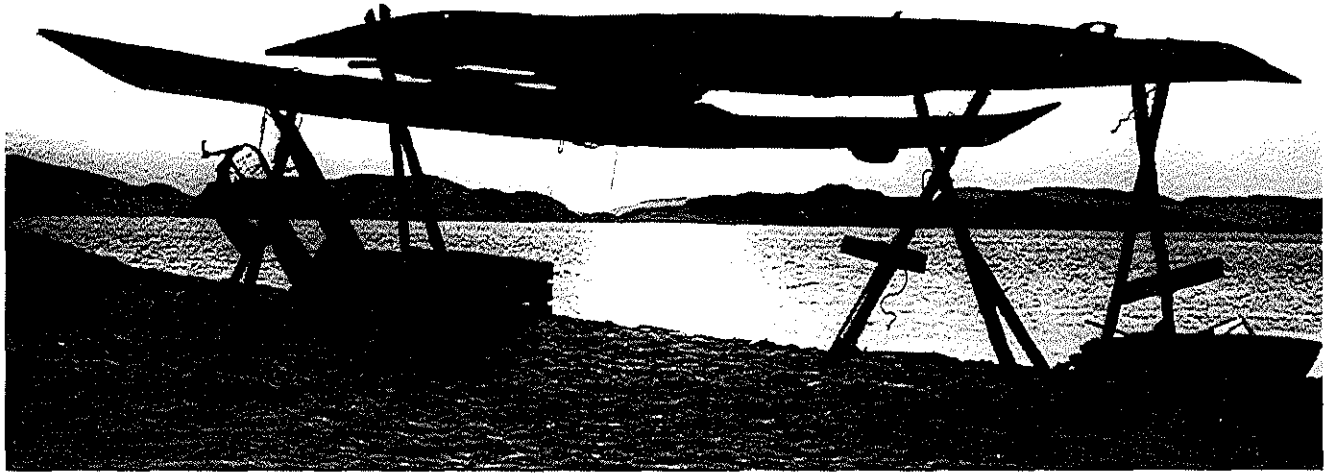

Photo 6: Two different kayak types in use in the Upernavik district.
Augpilaqtoq, May 1975.

Photo by Gert Nooter

Photo 7: Paulus Jonathansen, his wife Ebba, his children Vithus, Tirsa, and Asta at home.
Ebba is uring her ulo and scraping board for removing the fat from a sealskin. The seal was caught a few hours ago by her husband.
Tiniteqilâq, August 1970. *Photo by Gert Nooter*

Sealcomplex (pre-contact phase)

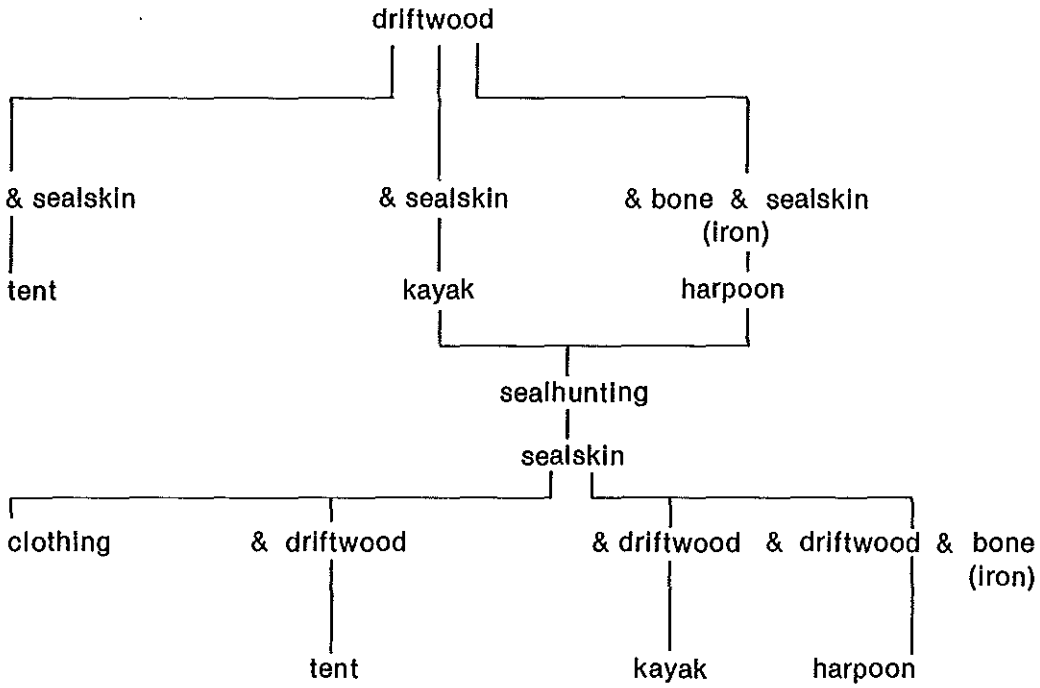

Fig.1.

In our days sealskin tents are repaced by cotton home-manufactured or imported tents. Sealskin is still used for part of the clothing; see article.
Not mentioned in the scheme is the fat and meat of the seals. The meat was and is the most important food for the East-Greenlanders.
The fat was used for the blubber-lamp. These lamps made out of soap stone were used for light, cooking and heating. The lamps are replaced by coalstoves for heating and gasoline lamps for light.

Photo 8: See photo 7. Paulus Jonathansen welcoming the Danish princess in his capacity as Tiniteqilâq's representative on the Kommunalbestyrelse (district council) of the Angmagssalik district, watched by many of the residents. The man with the cap is Paulus Larsen, the Kommunefoged. A number of both men and women have put on their festive garments.
Tiniteqilâq, August 1973 *Photo by Gert Nooter*

DEVELOPMENTS IN MODERN GREENLANDIC ART

by

Bodil Kaalund

As a foreword I would like to point out that the conclusions of this paper are made by an artist and not by a scientist. My interest in Greenlandic art is due to the fact that I have a practical cooperation with the artists, e.g., by making exchange-exhibitions, starting the Graphic Workshop in Godthåb, and trying to create respect for the Greenlandic artist, so that he will not be considered an ethnographic curiosum as much as he was before.

Not until lately did the Greenlanders get a word for art. They now call it *erqumitsullaq*, which means: 'something made by hand which is strange'. However, the word *sanaguaq* can also be used; it means: 'we succeeded in making a resemblance of it'. By this, the two dominating characteristics in Greenlandic art have at once been indicated, namely the strangeness which has its roots in magic and the good resemblance which tells something of the faculty of sharp observation the Greenlanders have. The fact that they have made outstanding art without even having a vocable for it shows how enviably art has been integrated in every-day life, closely connected with the use of implements and with a natural function in the cultic life.

I have been doubtful which period would best cover 'Modern Greenlandic Art'. It was after the Second World War that the so-called civilization really began, especially since 1953, when Greenland became the most northerly Danish county. The colonial period terminated and the so-called 'equal position' brought about many changes in the way of living, conditions, and customs. In view of this it would be obvious to call the last 23 years 'The Modern Times'. In order to get a right impression of the trends of art development I find it most correct to look still further back. Greenland is a country with such enormous distances and such difficult communication lines, that influence from the outside has reached the different parts of the country at different times. Thus the development of the eastcoast differs a lot from that of the westcoast. I therefore find that we must have a longer perspective. For this reason I have chosen to go through a period

of about 100 years, starting with the year 1859 as it is 117 years ago since a clear break with the hitherto expression took place. From that time up till now it is best seen how much of the Eskimo tradition has survived.

Let us take a look at how the development has been as to the use of materials and the influence from this on size, colour, and to a certain extent, style. Let us look at the various functions of art and what they have meant for the choice of subjects.

Wood was the favourite material; the precious floating timber which drifted ashore from the pine woods of Siberia. Even fragments were used for flench-amulets, for dolls, and masks. The wood was used together with clinched-on figures of bone on the east coast and for crafts of high quality as boxes, buckets, and tools for kayaks. Nowadays fine drift timber is left on the coast of Greenland. Since 1925 I have not seen it used on the westcoast, and on the east-coast people no longer go through the trouble of gathering the timber; they make their masks of wood imported for the building industry. Now wood is used especially for masks and handicrafts, but not so often for figures.

Bone and tooth are old materials which are still in use. All kinds of tooth and bone pieces were previously used, but since 1930 spermwhale teeth have been one of the most favourite materials. In fact these were so much in demand that the Royal Greenland Trade Department imported spermwhale teeth from Japan and distributed them among Greenlandic artists.

Soap stone was used for lamps and domestic utensils and only lately it has been used for figures. The oldest stone figure I found dates back to 1920 and nowadays soap stone is by far the material used most by Greenlandic sculptors, even though the finding places are difficult to reach and the winning must be done by hand, because the use of dynamite would make the tooling of the soap stone impossible.

Beads and skins are also old materials. They are, however, solely used by women artists. As is known by the audience, beads were brought to Greenland by Dutch whalers as an exchange object and ever since this material has been much in demand. It is used for garments as well as handicrafts. Technically geometric patterns are used for beadsewing and that goes also for the small, dyed pieces of leather used for Avigtat-embroidery. They are part of geometric built-up

compositions in vivid colours. Needlework with beads and leather is still very widespread; the use of national costumes is still common but unfortunately on the decline.

Paper and canvas. Up till now I have mentioned the traditional materials, some of which have been used for thousands of years in the Eskimo culture, whereas paper has been used only a little longer than a hundred years on the westcoast and an even shorter time on the east-coast. The event I mentioned earlier, which distinctly announced a new time and which is at the beginning of the period we are talking about here, is the following: In the middle of the 19th century Heinrich Rink was working as inspector in Greenland. He started to collect and to publish legends. He sent an appeal along the coast for materials. Simultaneously he asked for illustrations for the legends and he promised to pay a little for it. Further he provided those who were interested with drawing materials, water-colours, tools for wood-carving, etc. The request resulted in lots of drawings, woodcuts, and water-colours, forty of which were published in 1860 in Godthåb. From the preface of the book I quote the following: 'These pictures are the result of an experiment from 1858-1860 to let natives of Greenland make woodcuts, drawings, and wood-carvings. With the exception of the numbers 1-8 they are all cuts, further they are composed and cut by 5-6 different Greenlanders. They received only the necessary wood and some tools as well as some old woodcuts to look at. The majority of them, and the best ones, are drawn and cut by a man called Aron. He had note other education than Greenlanders usually have.

Please not the sentence: 'as well as old woodcuts to look at'. Greenlandic artists were asked to copy illustrations which were prevailing in 1850 in Copenhagen. Hence it is the more admirable that on this frail basis of inspiration several fine artists appeared, first of all Aron from Kangeq, but also Jens Kreutzmann, Rasmus Berthelsen, and Lars Møller, called Arqaluk. Since then and up till now many Greenlandic artists have gone in for drawing and painting. Oilpainting was known at about the end of the century when Lars Møller's son Steffen was attending the Royal Academy of Fine Arts in Copenhagen and oilpainting is no doubt considered the 'finest' art by the majority of the Greenlanders.

In other words from now on new materials like paper, water-colours, pencils, and also canvas as well as oil-colours are imported. From 1920 there is an account from 'Sukkertoppen' about an artist who, after

having been introduced to the new materials, when he was in want of paint-brushes during an interval of delivery, made them from his own hair.

With regard to the use of other materials I may mention that there are many examples of mixed techniques, e.g., wood + bone + leather, wood + musk-ox hair, wood with inlay of glass for eyes, bone + ebonite. Further there are single cases: like three Dutch-owned masks which were made of rye-bread dough, having Christmas decorations for eyes; a few figurative tapestries; polyethylene; a few sculptures cut in whale bone. In the last few years graphic art has encountered an improvement, especially after the graphic workshop in Godthab has been established in 1972.

When we notice how the choice of materials has influenced the traditional small size, it is evident that the lack of materials has played a great part. Also the fact that the Eskimos were travellers, and thus large piece of art could not be dragged along on trips, might have influenced the size. Today the demand decides the size and because of the great demand of souvenirs and small figures, for the mantelpiece at home, the well-known small size is kept and the artists go in for the larger sizes only when it is requested.

The only colour left from the old days is black, which previously had a magic significance. It is said about a certain 'evil spirit' whose arms and legs were black that everything which is touched by it would decay and die. The masks were also smeared with a mixture of soot and train-oil. The masks are still painted black, but with bicycle laquer or black plastic paint. Vegetable colours were in use for leather and earthen hue. Blood was at an earlier period used for painting figures of bone; in the period described here, however, imported chemical colours and beads were used. A curiosity is that at times when people had to wait for the ships with the needed materials, colours were drawn from packing materials by boiling them, e.g., from bags for coffee-substitute. Water-colours were painted with this. On the eastcoast among other things beads were made from the spine of the little salmon fish 'Angmasset'. Some of them were painted with blood. There is in East Greenland a certain reluctance to use the great variety of new colours; they still work with light and dark and the graphic effect from this.

Concerning the style it can be said that previously there was a death cult in existence and this is no doubt the reason for the extensive use

of skeleton ornaments, especially in the East-Greenlandic art. It might also be of importance that the anatomy of animals is so well-known from the flensing. The skeleton is as well known as the outward appearance of the animals. In the costumes you will find a reminder of the skeleton. The ornaments in the tattooing, which were common until the end of the century, are still used by mask cutters. Whether the artists are aware of the origin of these ornaments I do not know. Further the mask cutters place on and off a cross or a mark at the root of the nose. According to old belief an important soul was living here.

The character of the favourite traditional materials, which are all hard: bone - stone - wood, has given a familiarity to the knife as a tool. Maybe that explains why the graphics at the time of Aron, and especially nowadays, are of high quality. Anything which can be scratched or cut is natural to the artist.

In the artist's choice of theme we find again the two principal traits in Greenlandic art, namely the imaginative presentation, more ore less consciously attached to magic and cult, and the sober observation which portrays every-day life, nature, and the weather. The realistic every-day scenes are described in an uninterrupted line from the first Greenlandic visual art productions up till now, while the phantastic ones have undergone several transformations en route. Illustrations of Greenlandic legends and mythical figures such as the 'mother of the sea', the brother and sister pair 'Sun and Moon' are loved and well-known motives, which were also used at the time of Aron and nowadays by the young people at the graphic workshop. There is remarkably little in the visual arts concerning the Christian religion. The dominating clergy families like Rosing, Lynge and Lund have bred artists but no religious painters. These painter-clergymen have described the Greenlandic nature, even though with a religious emphasis and a great devoted feeling for the creator. Of course generally animals were a familiar subject, though the most important subject has always been the human being. 'The Country of the Human Beings' the Greenlanders themselves call their vast country. There has always been an extensive 'soul belief', e.g., it was believed that there was a soul in every joint of the body. The ritual significance of the mask has disappeared with the exception of the rite for fruitfulness around several of the traits in connection with the Mitartut-feast, which still takes place on Twelfth-night in East Greenland. There is still the perception of human portraying in the masks; many turn out to be

portraits, even if they are caricatures, others turn out to be beings.

On the other hand all the tupilak-figures made in Greenland today do not derive from the old tradition. A real tupilak was a magically combined monstruous creature who was never pictured. Not until the discoverer of East Greenland, Gustav Holm, at the end of the last century asked for a tupilak-figure did the production of these figures start; figures consisting of, e.g., part of a seal, a bird, and a human being. After the Christian belief had been accepted it became possible to picture pre-christian conceptions without danger. These tupilak-figures turned out to be a real excuse for the Greenlandic artist to enfold his imagination and sense of the grotesque and I believe they are to be seen in this light today.

As mentioned before, art has been deeply integrated in every-day life. The functional design in kayak culture has been perfect and at the same time it had a lash of superstition. The opinion was that the seal preferred to be caught by a beautifully carved harpoon, and the small animal figures which decorated the strap of the kayak often had the significance of an amulet. Many of the figure have been toys, dolls, but at the flensing they were placed around the animal and thus served as flensing amulets. Both on the east- and the westcoast the artistic production is decidedly a sales object. Many people practise art for a living. They adjust themselves to the wishes of the white people, especially Danes, and because of this the integrity of the community is entirely lost. But as an expression of the Greenlandic identity the artist is of great importance for the national recovery. In the last few years art has been used as a political weapon. It is obvious in the poetry by the young and also in visual arts. A significance and a responsibility which I, being an artist in a region of Europe called Denmark, envy the Greenlandic artists.

I hope I have succeeded in giving an idea of the development of Greenlandic art history. During the past 100 years the influence from outside has been very strong. Especially the past twenty years have been very hard on Greenlandic art and culture, although the influence was politically and socially well-meant. I do not think only of the effect of film, T.V., magazines, trick-art in the furniture magazines, and other things that are offered to express European subculture, but also of the creative art taught in the Kindergarten, the schools, the seminary, where it is really possible to influence the next generations. There they are taught to make things of clay, potato-prints, and patchworks as it

is taught in Denmark. I do hope that the Greenlanders will try to get this changed before it is too late. A lot has irreparably been lost, but, as is often seen in history, the conflict or collision of cultures creates new strength.

Let me finish by saying that I believe the Greenlandic art, with so many Eskimo conceptions alive and so much feeling for shape and expression which is strong and independent, is going to survive. In the consciousness of its own roots and with an open eye for the present time it is going to survive.

CONTINUITY AND DISCONTINUITY IN GREENLANDIC ART — AN EXHIBITION

by

Lies Liefferink

The third symposium of the Arctic Centre was, like the previous ones, accompanied by an exhibition. Contacts with the Danish artist Bodil Kaalund, who was invited to lecture on Greenlandic art, led to the choice of an art exhibition. The central theme of the symposium, "continuity and discontinuity", could also be followed in this exhibition: not only traditional art objects, but also modern items were shown, some of which of very recent date.

As mentioned by Bodil Kaalund there existed until recently no word for art in the Greenlandic language: almost each "art object" was at the same time, and probably in the first place, a utensil, and each Greenlander made everything he/she needed him/herself. The labelling of a part of the traditional objects as "art" was done afterwards, mainly by non-Greenlanders. The production of *art objects* is a development of the last decades, just as the specialization in art as a profession.

The theme of the exhibition, "continuity and discontinuity in Greenlandic art", had to be expressed in the lay-out and in the texts, which explained something about the shown objects. The definition of continuity was formulated by Gert Nooter in his paper as follows: " ... the occurrence of a culture element (whether material or non-material in nature) in both the pre-contact phase and the present culture. For the investigation of continuity three criteria are applied in the evaluation of objects belonging to the material culture: the material of which they are made, the form, and the function they serve". As far as art is concerned two criteria should be added, namely size and colour: the change in size of certain objects, which even led to the use of "new" materials for sculptures such as soap stone and whale bone, and the change in the use of colours (especially where clothing is concerned) are remarkable consequences of the "white influence".

This exhibition meant to show that it is very difficult to apply the terms "continuity" and "discontinuity" to the various objects. Changes in an object that already occured in the pre-contact phase need not be

so radical that the application of the term 'discontinuity' would be justified. The determination of this by attaching different valuations to the relevant criteria is sometimes rather arbitrary.

The exhibition took place in the Museum "Gerardus van der Leeuw", where a room was kindly put at our disposal by Prof. Th. van Baaren. Here a great variety of works of art could be exhibited, e.g., carvings in bone, ivory, and wood, sculptures of whale bone and soap stone, masks, clothing (by Greenlanders considered to be art), graphic art, photographs and poems; also traditional music and music from the Greenlandic popgroup Sume-Sumut (Where From-Where To) could be heard.

Allthough not many, there were among the exhibited objects some which were not touched to some degree by the "white influence", e.g., the well-known small bone and ivory animals (mostly seals and narwhals), some masks, clothing, or the beautifully decorated throwing-stick (photo 1). Of course also some modern bone carvings were shown, in which we see the result of the demand of the tourist trade; photograph 2 shows the increase in size of the carvings: the "big" seal (± 11 cm) has the salable size, the small one (± 3 cm), although fairly new too, has the traditional size. The increase in size is not always accompanied by an increase in quality, but the carved cartoon "the catch of a narwhal" is a good example of beautiful modern carving (photo's 3 and 4).

Little is known about the use of masks. Many of the shown masks are probably portraits. The two dark wooden masks (photo 5) are likely to be the portraits of a Greenlander who is telling a story and illustrates it by pulling faces - pulling faces to make other people laugh is a common phenomenon in Greenland. Masks are still made of wood, but sometimes other (surprising) materials are used, e.g., bread-dough and polythene. The East-Greenlanders still use masks during the "Milârtut-feasts" at Twelfth-night. Photograph 6 shows a modern specimen of this type of mask, made of cardboard - the older ones were made of leather.

Soap stone is a material that was widely used in the traditional culture, but exclusively to make household-objects like the well-known blubber-lamps. In the last decades soap stone came into use to make sculptures of (photo 7), mostly at the request of whites. It was by these sculptures that the concept "artist" made its entrance in the

Greenlandic culture - no longer the maker of an (art) object was anonymous.

The exhibited sculptures of whale bone (photo 8), a material seldom used for objects, were made at request. Whale-bone and soap-stone sculptures are considerable larger than the traditional objects.

During a hibernation in Angmagssalik at the end of the nineteenth century Gustav Holm often heard stories about monsters - tupilait (sg. tupilak) - seen by hunters during their trips. Such a monster was (and is) believed to be made by someone to kill another person in a super-natural way. It is composed of parts of animals, like seagulls, bears, ravens, seals, or even parts of human beings. The creator animates this liveless matter, puts it into the water and sends "it" to his enemy. So tupilait existed in the pre-contact phase as non-material culture elements. Gustav Holm asked for pictures of these creatures and with the wooden tupilak-models that were the result of this request the tupilait made their entrance as material culture elements (continuity-discontinuity?). Tupilak-models are still made, nowadays mainly of stone, ivory, or bone. These modern tupilait, however, have little in common with the older "realistic" specimens (photos 9 and 10), but they sell very well.

The origin of the Greenlandic graphic art is described in Bodil Kaalund's paper. At the exhibition some of the old wood-cuts (photo 11) which served as examples for the Greenlanders were shown, as well as the results of the experiment, namely some wood-cuts of the Greenlander Aron and a series of wood-cuts made by ArkaluK (Lars Møller). The latter (photo 12) served as illustrations in a Greenlandic paper, Atuagagdliutit, published from 1861 on in Godthåb. The largest part of the exhibited graphic art consisted of modern works (photo 13). The younger Greenlandic artists often derive the motifs for their work from the old myths and legends and from the old way of life that they themselves only know from stories. This may be due to a growing awareness of the value of their own (Greenlandic) culture.

The last years there is an increasing resistence against the paternalistic policy of the Danish in Greenland. This is clearly demonstrated in the poems of ArkaluK Lynge, a few of which were "shown" at the exhibition, together with photographs of Anne Bang. The texts of these poems were translated from Danish into Dutch by Prof. Amy van Marken. Each visitor received a copy of these poems, as well as the translation of Sume-Sumut's popsongs.

All exhibited works were made by Greenlandic artists, except the slides and photographs of Jette Bang and the already mentioned photographs of Anne Bang. The slides had been divided in two series: one made in Greenland in the thirties, the other made in the fifties. By showing the two series simultaneously the visitor could get an impression of the changes in the daily life of the Greenlanders.

From the texts with the exhibited objects appeared over and over again the influence that outsiders have had on the Greenlandic art. Tupilak-models would perhaps never have been made without Gustav Holm's request. Sculptures of soap stone and whale bone, graphic art, the increase in size of the bone and ivory carvings are all examples of the "white influence". Despite all influences from outside the Greenlandic art has kept its very own "face". The introduction of "new" materials, e.g., paper, polythene, or bread-dough, and the use of "familiar" materials, e.g., soap stone and whale bone, for the production of art objects did not lead to a "loss of face" of the Greenlandic art - in an ingenious way the Greenlandes incorporated the new materials and techniques in their own cultural tradition.

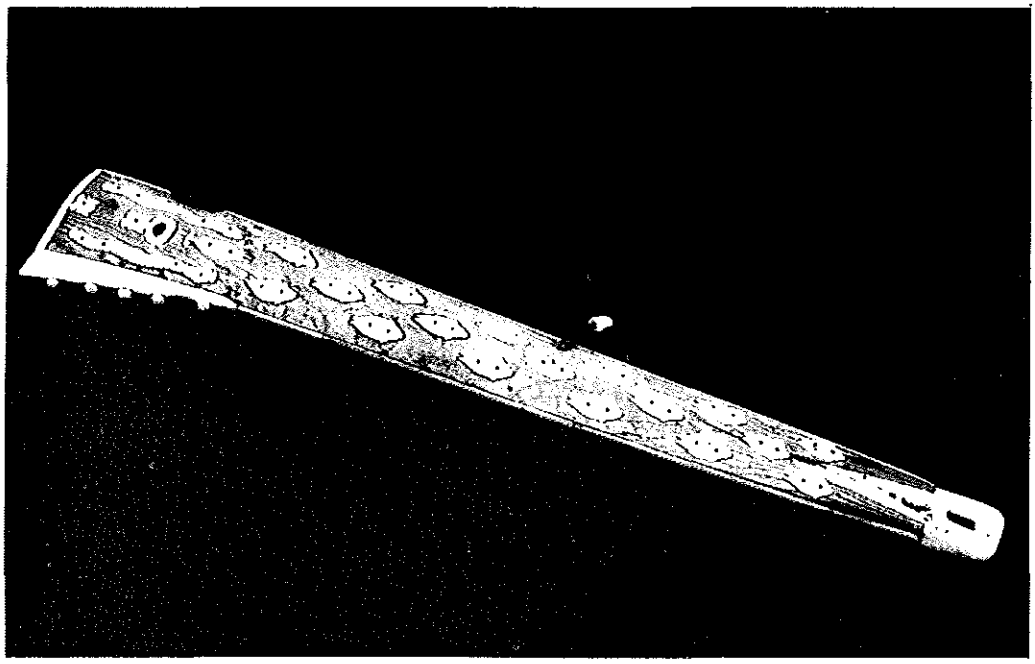

photo 1: decorated throwing-stick

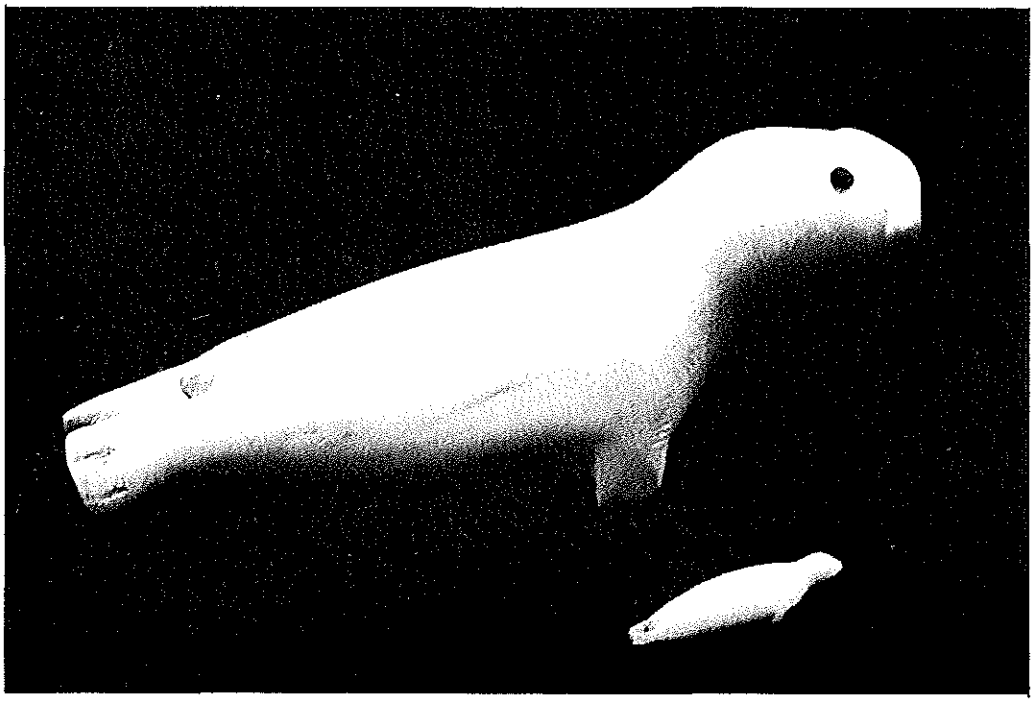

photo 2: seals carved in ivory

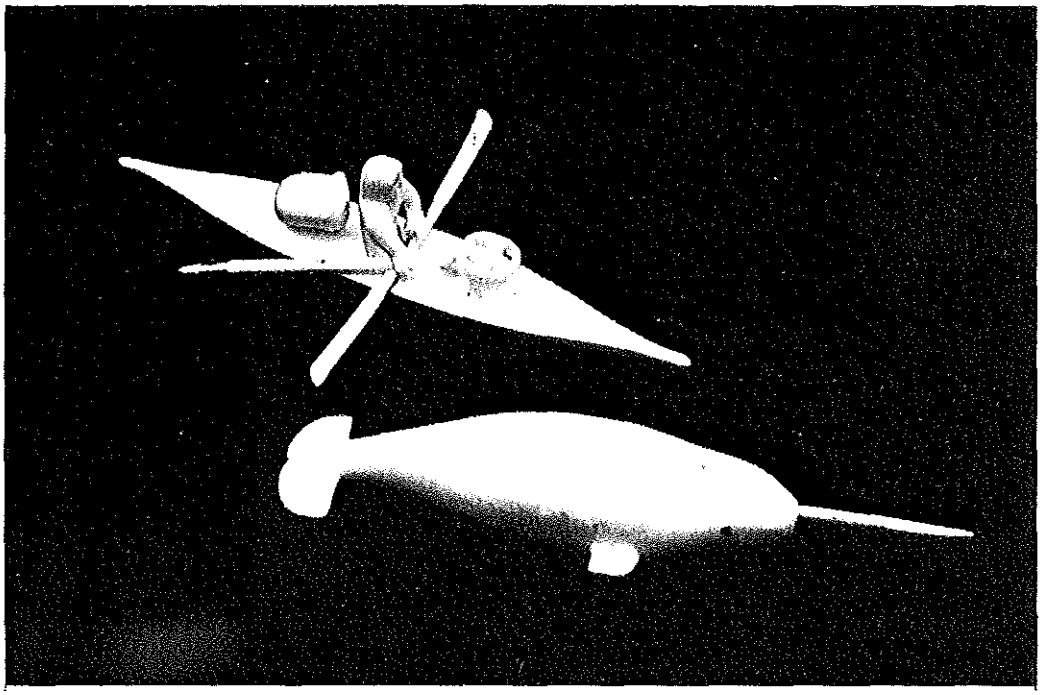

photo 3: catch of a narwhal, part 1, Gaba Christensen, 1968

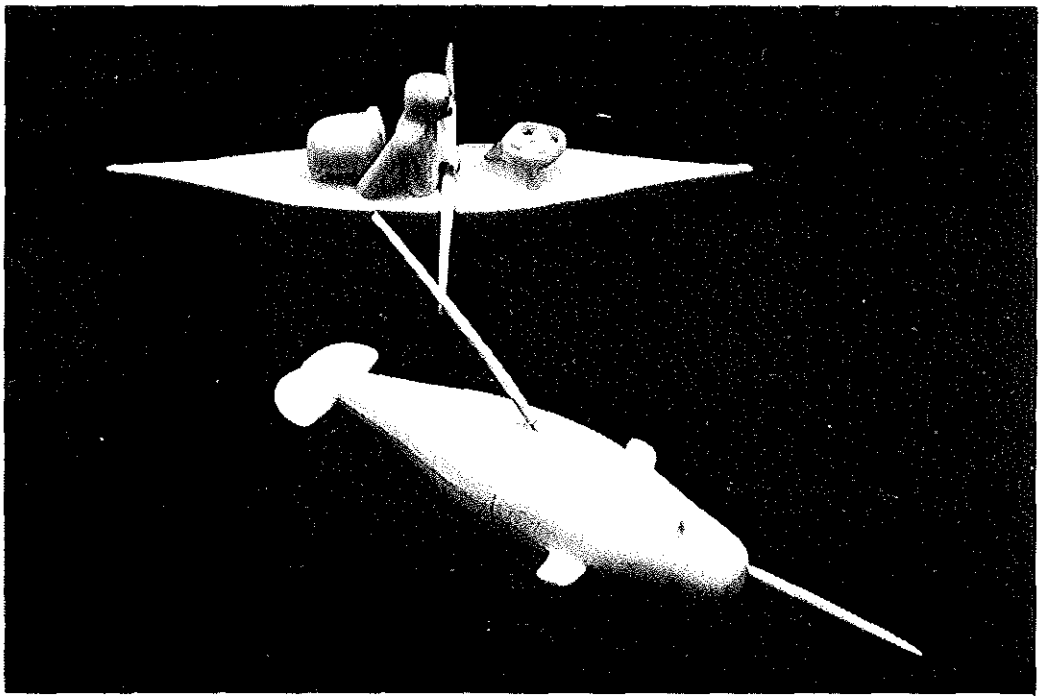

photo 4: catch of a narwhal, part 2, length of the kayak ± 12 cm

photo 5: old wooden masks

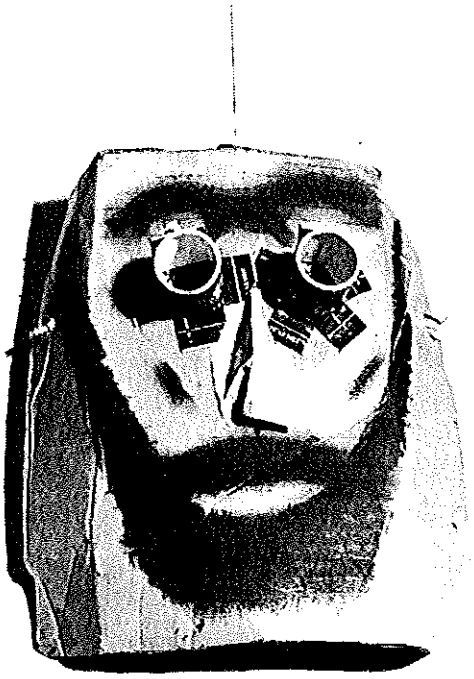

photo 6: new Milârtut-mask made of cardboard - the eyes are made of battery-hulls

photo 7: sculpture made of soap stone, height ± 15 cm,
Benjamin Petersen

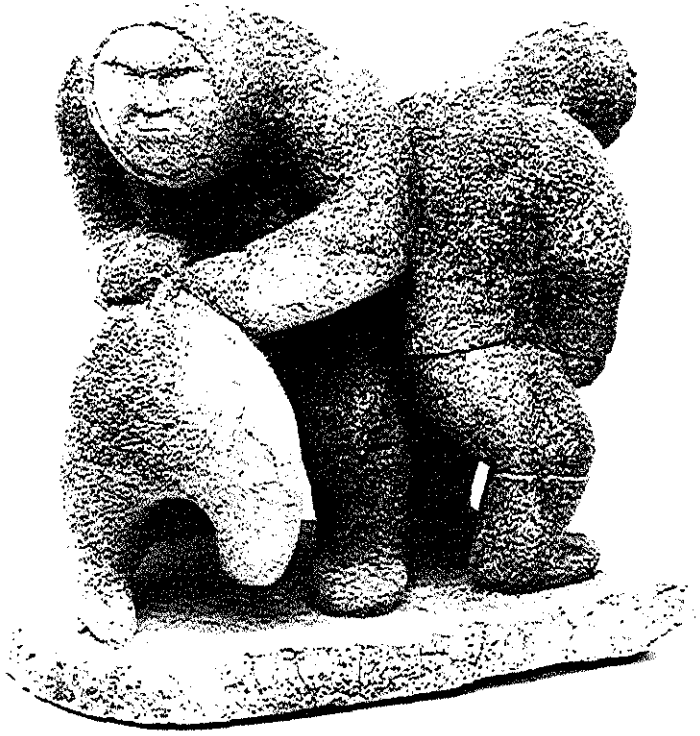

photo 8: sculpture made of whale bone, height ± 30 cm,
Simon Kristoffersen

photo 9: "old" wooden tupilak, height ± 9 cm

photo 10: "new" tupilait carved in ivory, height ± 10 cm

wild and dark pubic cleft,
there,
carved from the ridge,
humid chasm
surrounded with steam from a fermenting river
bed

here,
before the thin-skinned house, silent
near the cauldron
sitting on the boulders

through moss filters grit
from a pre-human present

(near Narssarssuaq, 1972)

This poem is taken from: *The White Shaman* (Arctic Songs I), Amsterdam 1973.

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CONTINUITY AND DISCONTINUITY IN THE INUIT CULTURE OF GREENLAND

Arctic Centre (eds.) (1976) **Continuity and discontinuity in the Inuit culture of Greenland:** Danish-Netherlands symposium on Developments in Greenlandic Arctic Culture November 1976. Arctic Centre, University of Groningen.

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Citation:

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